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HISTORY
OF THE
CATHOLIC CHURCH
IN THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY
(1789-1908)

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HISTORY
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CATHOLIC CHURCH
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NINETEENTH CENTURY
(1789-1908)

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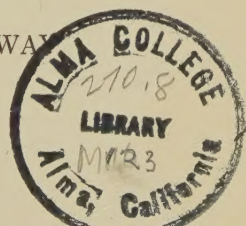
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P R E F A C E

THE French Revolution marked the beginning of a new era in the political and religious history of the world. Till then absolute government in its extreme form was the ideal aimed at by most of the rulers of Europe; the principles of imperialism, which in an age of religious unity were such a potent factor in European politics, still dominated the minds of the leading statesmen; while the traditional union between Church and State, even though weakened by the Reformation struggle, seemed strong enough as yet to resist the encroachments of secularism.

Absolutism was not the product of the Middle Ages, nor was it the form of government put forward by the most reliable Catholic writers, or favoured by the Catholic Church. It grew up at a time when the power of the Church and of the Popes was seriously crippled by the religious dissensions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and it was in reality as dangerous for Catholic progress as for civil liberty. The Church, instead of having been the ally of the absolute governments of Europe, was rather their slave; but the apparent alliance was sufficient to bring upon her the hatred of those who favoured liberty, and to ensure that when the day of reckoning came the attacks of the masses should be directed equally against both throne and altar. This regrettable conjunction of religion and absolutism brought about by force and against the best traditions of the Catholic Church, was most unfortunate for the

future of religion. It gave the popular demagogues an opportunity of pointing to the Church as the declared enemy of liberty, and the masses of the people, accustomed to accept the statements of their leaders and unable to examine such questions for themselves, soon came to regard religion as only another weapon forged by governments for the oppression of the subject.

The people, tired of arbitrary rule and unjust taxation, and urged on by leaders drawn for the most part from the middle classes, rose in revolt, but, in their mad desire for reform and confounding liberty with licence, they went to the other extreme; and soon, moderate men of all sections were glad to submit once more to the government of despotic monarchy in order to escape the still more despotic sway of the popular leaders. The Revolution of 1789 was to a great extent a failure, and in some respects delayed rather than hastened the dawn of constitutional liberty.

But the Revolution of 1848 was of quite a different character, and produced more permanent results. It asserted for the people a voice in the government and administration by forcing the rulers of Europe to proclaim new constitutions. Since that time constitutionalism has been gradually triumphing over absolutism. On the one hand, the elected representatives of the people have encroached more and more upon the powers of the Crown, while, on the other, the concession of the suffrage has enabled the people to control more closely the opinions and votes of their representatives. The study of the rise and progress of the constitutional movement would be in itself a fascinating one; but, here, it is sufficient to point out that it is one of the most notable developments of the nineteenth century.

Again, the struggle between imperialism and nationalism, which in the Middle Ages seemed at one period

as if likely to be decided in favour of the former, has turned completely in modern times in favour of the latter. The statesmen assembled at the Congress of Vienna showed no regard for national sentiment in their re-arrangement of the countries of Europe, and yet it is precisely because they disregarded such sentiments that most of their decisions were upset during the nineteenth century. Italy, according to their agreement, was left divided into numerous little states, with Austria in control of its fairest provinces; the German states were bound together by no close bond of union; Greece and the Balkan Provinces remained under the yoke of the Sultan; Belgium and Holland were united; Norway was separated from Denmark and handed over to Sweden; while the partition of Poland between Russia, Prussia and Austria was approved.

Since then, the Italian states have disappeared, the Austrians have been expelled, and Italy has become a united kingdom; the German Empire has been established; Greece has shaken off the rule of the Turks and proclaimed itself an independent nation, and the example of Greece has been followed by most of the Balkan Provinces; Belgium has separated definitely from Holland, Norway from Sweden, and Hungary to a certain extent from Austria. In Ireland and Poland the struggle for national autonomy is still being waged with every promise of success. Nor has the development of nationalism achieved merely political results. It has led to a great revival of interest in the national languages and national literatures. In Ireland, in Poland, in the Austrian Provinces, in Brittany, in Belgium and in Norway the language question is a burning one. The smaller nations and races are determined that they shall not allow the strongest bulwark of their nationality and the best memorial of their former glory

to be effaced or handed over to the exclusive possession of antiquarians and philologists.

In this struggle the Catholic Church has not been the enemy of nationalism. Her mission of peace does not allow her to stir up strife and dissension or to urge on war, but it is her duty to inculcate the necessity and importance of the virtue of patriotism, and that duty has not been neglected by her clergy. True it is, indeed, that Bismarck and Gladstone professed to believe that Catholics could not be patriots, and that in any struggle their sympathies must necessarily go out to their co-religionists even against their own countrymen. But it is well to remember that these great statesmen seem to have changed their views at a subsequent period, and that the Socialists of to-day loudly proclaim that the Catholic Church by its teaching on patriotism and nationality is one of the great obstacles to the complete union of the whole human race in one common family. The truth is, that in this, as in other matters, the Church has avoided both extremes.

In religious matters the nineteenth century has witnessed some remarkable developments. It is sometimes said that the Revolution completed the separation between Church and State which had been foreshadowed by the Reformation. Such a view is an entirely mistaken one. The Revolution did not effect a separation. It deprived the Church of its property, but it placed the burthen of supporting religion and the clergy upon the State. By doing so it gave the State unlimited control over the ministers of religion, and deprived them, especially in France, Italy, Spain and Portugal, of all liberty of speech and action. It put the clergy in a worse position of dependence than in the days of the old regime.

To remedy such a state of affairs the advanced

Catholics of the de Lamennais school advocated a complete separation of Church and State, as if a total separation could be effected in practice, and even if effected, could be regarded as the ideal solution. These men forgot that the connection between religion and the daily lives of the people is too intimate to permit a sharp division to be made between the affairs of the Church and the affairs of the State, and that on many important questions, as, for instance, that of education, it is eminently desirable that both powers should go hand in hand. Against these, the Liberal politicians maintained that the Church has no rights which she has not received from the State, that she is in fact a department of the State, and that the religious affairs of a nation should be regulated by the Minister of Worship as the Home Office and Foreign Office are controlled by their respective Secretaries. It was this policy which held sway in Austria, Bavaria, Belgium and most of the German States from 1848 till 1880, and which forced Catholics to organise political parties in order to defend their religion against the encroachments of the State.

Against both these programmes the authorities of the Church protested. They refused to accept the Liberal Catholic view of separation, or the Liberal political theory of dependence. They contended that both Church and State have independent rights, and that in modern circumstances agreement between both powers could be secured best by mutual concessions. Hence, concordats were negotiated between the Holy See and France, Prussia, Bavaria, the Upper Rhine Provinces, Russia, Austria, Spain, and most of the States of Central and Southern America. Such a plan might have worked well had the governments observed the letter or the spirit of their agreements; but, unfortunately, the day is gone when solemn treaties are regarded as binding

where no serious danger is to be anticipated from their violation. Most of these concordats have been abandoned or violated, and the Church is obliged to seek a defence for her liberty of action in the devotion and organisation of her own members rather than in the promises of Princes or Cabinets.

The alarming spread of the Liberal theories of State supremacy and secularism has been most apparent in the sphere of education. The absolute rulers had already asserted their rights of control in the universities; but this control was strengthened, and the few universities still remaining in the hands of the Church were secularised during the Napoleonic wars. University education, and to a lesser extent secondary education, passed from ecclesiastical to secular control. But for a long time the primary schools remained in the hands of the religious bodies. It was only, roughly speaking, in the second quarter of the century that the states of Europe began to interest themselves in primary education, and to support the schools by direct financial assistance.

In the beginning no difficulties arose, as all parties were agreed that religious education should be respected, but, gradually, as the principle of state neutrality developed, it was contended that all state supported institutions should be equally neutral, that religious and secular education should be separated, and that religion should be banished from the schools. Towards such a programme the Catholic Church has been unflinching in her opposition. She insists that by confining education to merely secular subjects the most important portion of the training of youth is being neglected, and that the results are likely to prove as disastrous to civil as to religious authority. Hence, she has strongly resisted the scheme of neutral schools; and wherever her protests have been unavailing, she has set up side by

side with the state schools, free schools, where the faith of her children may be free from danger. In France, in Germany, in Austria, in Italy, in England, in America and Australia the war is still being waged with a degree of zeal and earnestness which is intelligible only to those who understand the importance of the issues at stake.

The enemies of the Church having secured control of the universities turned against her the very weapons which she herself had forged. These centres of enlightenment, the glory of which in former ages had been the defence of religion, rivalled one another in their efforts to overturn the religious convictions of the masses. Every new discovery was hailed as a triumph of science over superstition. Geology, biology, history, the study of the Oriental languages, literature and monuments, were pressed into service in the war against religion. But these attacks were directed only against individual portions of the Catholic system, and, however its enemies may have boasted of the breaches they had made, still, for a long time, the Christian system as a whole remained without a serious rival. The Evolutionists, however, at last undertook to set up such a rival, and the scientists loudly boasted that they could explain by the powers of matter everything for which the Church endeavoured to account by invoking the supernatural. For a time the danger seemed pressing, but, just as at other periods in the history of the world, a more careful study of the facts has convinced moderate men that revealed religion has nothing to fear from the advance of scientific research.

In face of the hostile attitude of the universities the Catholic Church was obliged to consider carefully her position. Two courses of action opened before her. One was to abandon entirely the institutions which she herself had created, and found new schools which might

do for religion in modern times what the Middle Age universities had done in their own day; the other, to throw herself into the universities, even though hostile, as many of the great Christian Apologists had thrown themselves into the Pagan schools of the Roman Empire, and to endeavour to recapture the positions that had been lost. Both schemes found earnest advocates within the Church, and both have been tried with a varying measure of success. While in Germany Catholics strive hard to maintain and to improve their position in the state universities, their Belgian co-religionists have founded at Louvain a Catholic University which has already established its claim to be reckoned as one of the leading centres of higher education on the Continent.

In the struggle between Capital and Labour, which has been one of the most remarkable developments of the century, the Catholic Church could not afford to be an indifferent spectator. It was undeniable that owing mainly to the application of science to manufactures and commerce, the small employers were being gradually crushed out, and consequently the number of those depending upon labour was increasing; while, on the other hand, the wealthy monopolists, pressed hard by national and international competition, strove to lessen the cost of production by reducing the wages of their employees, or by increasing their hours of labour. As a remedy for such grievances the Socialists proposed that private ownership, which, according to them, was the source of social inequality, should be abolished, and that the means of production should be vested in the people for the good of the people. Others, on the contrary, maintained that the rights of property were too sacred to be interfered with even by the state, that the rate of wages should be left entirely to the stern law of supply and demand,

and that the public authorities would be acting unwisely by limiting the freedom of contract between the employers and the employed.

With neither of these parties could the Catholic Church find itself in agreement. It recognised the grievances of the working classes, and willingly acknowledged that some remedy should be sought; but it rejected the Socialist proposal for the total abolition of private ownership as being more likely to produce greater evils than the system which it was meant to supplant. On the other side, it repudiated the theory of the absolute inviolability of private property put forward by interested statesmen, and proclaimed the teaching that had been put forward by the ablest Catholic writers of the Middle Ages, that private ownership is limited by the necessities of the individual and by the demands of the common good. Hence, wherever the public good required it, the state could interfere, and could either transfer to itself the ownership of the means of production, while compensating the present occupiers, or take measures to remedy the abuses of which individual owners may have been guilty. These were the principles enunciated by Leo XIII. in his Encyclicals on Labour, and these are the principles upon which has been based the Catholic or Christian Democratic movement which promises to withstand the Socialist campaign in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Belgium and Holland.

At the beginning of the century, too, the outlook for the Catholic missions was gloomy in the extreme. France, which had done so much for the spread of Catholicity among the pagan nations, seemed lost to the Church. The religious congregations devoted specially to missionary work had gone down before the storm of the Revolution, and it looked as if the Catholic missions were completely crippled. Yet at no period in the

history of the Church has its success in the missionary field been more striking. Were there nothing else to point to, the flourishing churches of the United States and Australia, both products of the nineteenth century, would be a sufficient refutation of the charges of sterility so often levelled against the Catholic missions.

To the progress of the Church during the nineteenth century Ireland has contributed not the least important share. It is mainly Irish Catholic emigrants and their descendants who have built up the Church in the United States, Australia, South Africa and, to a great extent, in England, Scotland and most of the English colonies. These emigrants introduced into these countries and developed a strong type of Catholicity. They were neither Liberals, always complaining of authority, nor Conservatives, striving against every reform. They had imbibed at home the true spirit of faith and of loyalty to the successor of St. Peter, and they communicated this spirit to their descendants.

ST. PATRICK'S COLLEGE, MAYNOOTH,
FEAST OF ST. MALACHY.

PREFACE

TO SECOND EDITION

THE remarkable demand for *The History of the Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century* furnishes a striking proof of the interest felt by the clergy and educated Catholic laity in modern religious developments.

The author is extremely grateful to the Cardinal Archbishop of Armagh and to the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland who have expressed their strong approval of his work, to the reviewers for their generous appreciation, and to the students of Maynooth College, especially to the Rev. Donald Reidy (Kerry) for their assistance in correcting the proofs and in compiling the Index.

He would be wanting in his duty, too, if he failed to express his gratitude to Messrs. M. H. Gill & Son, Ltd., the printers and publishers, and to their capable staff of assistants. They have shown that Irish authors without going outside their own country can have their books put upon the market in excellent style.

ST. PATRICK'S COLLEGE, MAYNOOTH,

FEAST OF ST. BRIGID.

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History of the Catholic Church

IN THE

Nineteenth Century

CHAPTER I

THE CHURCH IN FRANCE

(a) CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION

Taine, *Les Origines de la France Contemporaine, L'Ancien Régime*, 2 vols., 1901. De Tocqueville, *L'Ancien Régime et la Révolution*, 1856. Granier de Cassagnac, *Histoire des Causes de la Révolution Française de 1789, 1850*. *The Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII., *The French Revolution*, 1904 (Chap. I.-IV.). Sicard, *L'Ancien Clergé de France. Les Évêques, avant la Révolution*, Paris, 1905. Faguet, *Le dix-huitième siècle. Études Littéraires*, 1890. Brunetière-Derechef, *Manual of the History of French Literature*, London, 1898, Chap. III. (1720-1801).

THE French Revolution was not a sudden outburst of popular fury caused by some passing act of oppression. It was the result of forces partly social and political, partly literary and religious, which had been working in harmony for a long period against the absolutism of the Crown, and the teachings of Christianity as represented by the Catholic Church.

Louis XIV. (1643-1715) mainly by his own personal gifts and the aid of clever ministers, such as Cardinal Mazarin, had succeeded in asserting the almost unlimited prerogatives of the Crown, and in concentrating in his own hands and in those of his nominees the power hitherto shared in by various local and provincial institutions. This system might have been maintained for a long time had the successors of Louis XIV. been endowed with his ability and foresight, but on his death he was followed by the Duke of Orleans who acted as

regent (1715-1723), and Louis XV. (1723-1774), both of whom, though holding the same exalted ideas of the royal power, were men of weak character utterly incapable of retaining the loyalty or respect of the French nation. The government passed into the control of favourite ministers; the arbitrary rule and the impositions which had been barely tolerable in an age of national prosperity, were now resented by the middle and lower classes of the population; and demands began to be formulated for the limitation of the power of the Crown by the introduction of popular control.

To understand the state of affairs it is necessary to sketch briefly the system of government in France during the period immediately preceding the Revolution. The king ruled through a royal council consisting of about forty members nominated by himself and entrusted by him with the whole administration of the kingdom. The representatives of king and council in the provinces were the *Intendants* who were charged with the general superintendence of their province, and who were responsible only to the king and council. The communes enjoyed a species of elective control, but as the decrees of the communal assemblies were subject to the revision of the *Intendant* of the province, the authority of the popular representatives was more nominal than real. In the cities and large towns the administration was vested in the general assembly and town council (*Corps de ville*), but the municipal authorities, at best very unrepresentative in their character, were largely controlled by the mayor, who was nominated by the Crown and by the *Intendant* of the province.*

The old Provincial Estates or Parliaments had been discountenanced by the authorities, and had fallen into disuse except in a few provinces, and, practically speaking, it was only in Languedoc and Brittany that they still retained an authority, which at most was only administrative. The royal law courts, as distinguished from the feudal and corporation courts, were of

* *The Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII., pp. 42-45.

three classes, the most important of which were the *Parlements* or supreme courts. These were thirteen in number, of which the Paris *Parlement* was the oldest and most influential. They claimed to be something more than mere judicial tribunals, and especially the Paris *Parlement* aimed at curbing the royal power, both in legislation and in the imposition of taxes, but its claims were resisted and its decisions set aside by the council of the king. It will thus be seen how, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in France, the machinery of government and administration had been gradually freed from the drag of popular control, and vested in the hands of officials amenable only to the Crown.

The division of the population of France into three orders—the clergy, the nobles, and the Third Estate—had been recognised for centuries. The clergy formed a powerful body from the point of view of numbers as well as of wealth. It is estimated that in 1789 the number of priests in France, excluding members of religious congregations, amounted to about 60,000, while the annual revenue of the Church at the same period from tithes, rents, and other sources of emolument reached nearly seven million pounds. It is, however, an indisputable fact that the tithe was levied as a rule with great moderation, and that the tenants on the church lands were the least harshly treated. There were, in 1789, 134 archbishops and bishops, whose average income amounted to about £2,500 a year, while though some of the curés were in receipt of £800 a year or even more, the vast majority of the priests received little more than the *portion congrue* fixed by the state in 1768 at 500 livres and in 1786 at 700 livres.* As a body the clergy were either exempt from taxation or had bought exemption by paying a fixed sum, but they freely devoted a large amount (*don gratuit*) for the king's use every five years, and in times of war or national distress they were prepared to make extraordinary levies.

* About £28.

the age of Louis XIV. The sons of the wealthy merchants received a good education. They filled the ranks of the lawyers, judges, civil servants, and tax-farmers of France. They were earnest students of the literary attacks made by the infidel writers against religion and civil authority. Their sympathies were entirely with the peasantry as against the nobles, because from the peasantry they anticipated no danger.

These two classes—the bourgeoisie and the peasantry—constituted the Third Estate, upon which the bulk of taxation fell. Owing to the wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the extravagant outlay of the court and its officials, the expenditure was going up year by year, while, on the other hand, the number of those who, from their position or from purchase, were exempt, was constantly on the increase.* The indirect taxes, especially the hated salt tax, was leased out to certain tax-farmers, and was enforced with great harshness. In addition to their taxes the peasants were bound to pay the tithes, the feudal dues, the tolls, &c., so that, according to careful calculation, during the ten years preceding the revolution the French peasants paid in taxes of one species or another about 80 out of every 100 francs of their income. It was not difficult to convince such men that a change of government was urgently required.

Nor were the forces wanting to strengthen that conviction. It is a strange feature of the despotic government in France that a great measure of freedom was allowed to the philosophers and writers who set themselves to undermine Church and Crown. The open immorality and contempt for religion of which the court set the example under the rule of the Duke of Orleans and Louis XV. could not fail to influence the masses, while the interminable disputes between the Jansenists and their opponents, and the scandals consequent thereon, served to generate religious scepticism in the

* Gomel, *Les Causes Financières de la Révolution Française*, 2 vols., 1892-3.

minds of many. The well-known unbelief of a few amongst the higher clergy helped, too, to promote the spread of the anti-religious movement. The works of English writers like Hobbes (1588-1679) and Locke (1632-1704), and the professedly free-thinking views of men like Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1648), of Toland (1722), of Shaftesbury (1713), of Tindal (1733), and of Collins (1729), were eagerly welcomed by many educated Frenchmen. Pamphlets and books began to appear under the guise of descriptions of foreign countries, in which the Catholic Church and its doctrines regarding the Scriptures, the Mass, the Confessional, and the miraculous Birth of Christ were scoffingly assailed.

Typical examples of this class of literature are the Persian Letters of Montesquieu, the Description of the Island of Borneo by Fontenelle, the Life of Mohammed by Henri de Bouillon Villiers, and the Letters on the English by Voltaire. The latter,* whose real name was François Marie Arouet, was born in 1694, received his early education at a Jesuit College, and at an early age adopted the principles of religious scepticism. He devoted his life to the destruction of dogmatic Christianity, and by a mixture of popular philosophy, ready sarcasm, and a keen appreciation of the weak points of his adversaries, did more to spread irreligious opinions among the middle and lower classes than any other writer of his time. Round him were grouped a loyal band of clever supporters, men like Diderot, D'Alembert, and Condillac, pledged to assist him in the work of destruction.

Following the plan adopted by Bayle in his Dictionary they decided to publish an Encyclopedia,† in which, according to Diderot, articles dealing with religious subjects were to be treated with an outward show of deference, while the true opinion of the writer was indicated by embodying a reference to some other article where the opposite views were established on apparently sound principles. By this method the writers were able to

* Crouslé, *La Vie et les Oeuvres de Voltaire*, 2 vols., 1899.

† Ducros, *Les Encyclopédistes*, 1900.

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* Crouslé, *La Vie et les Oeuvres de Voltaire*, 2 vols., 1899.

† Ducros, *Les Encyclopédistes*, 1900.

undermine the very foundations of Christianity without rudely shocking their readers, and without making themselves liable to be punished for the publication of openly irreligious opinions. The work of the Encyclopedists had a remarkable success; especially as the clergy, instead of actively fighting them with their own weapons, relied rather on royal prohibitions and suppressions. The work of publication was begun in 1751, was ordered to be confiscated by Parliament on the appearance of the second volume, but was finally carried through in 1772 (28 vols.), and speedily reproduced in all kinds of editions.

Another writer who exercised an influence on France hardly less than Voltaire is Jean Jacques Rousseau * (1712-1778). Born in Geneva, he settled in Paris and became connected with the Encyclopedists. He realised the unshapen revolutionary ideas that were coursing through the minds of the masses, and better than any of his fellows he assisted them to give them expression. By his work, *Le Contrat Social* (1762), he opened up to the people a vista of infinite possibilities by pointing out that the right of governing came not from on high but from the people, and if it were abused the people could recall their concession, and unmake what they themselves had made. This was writing that the people could understand, and it was not long till Rousseau's works were in the hands of everybody, and his theories were the subject of universal discussion. The rights of the people, their social equality, the government for the welfare of the masses, were doctrines that were certain to be appreciated by the masses.

It was at this critical period when men's minds were disturbed by these novel ideas that the news of the American Revolution and of the Declaration of Independence were brought to France. Hatred of England forced the French Government to aid the Americans in their struggle for freedom, and many of the French officers hastened to place their swords at the disposal of the

* Lemaitre, *J. J. Rousseau*, Paris, 1907.

colonists. Every defeat of England was celebrated by the French populace as if it were a national victory. Soon these volunteer officers returned, filled with admiration for the democratic government established in the States, and announcing to the people that the speculative opinions broached by Rousseau and his school regarding liberty and equality had been at last realised in the new Western republic. It was thus that the American War of Independence exercised no small influence in overturning the despotic royalty of France.

The opportunity soon came owing to the financial troubles of the French Government. On account of the outlay caused by the expensive wars of Louis XIV., and of the Seven Years' War, the national debt of France had been enormously increased, till at last the annual revenue fell far below what was required to carry on the administration, to pay the interest on the loans, and to meet the lavish expenditure of the court. There was thus an increasing deficit each year, which was suddenly multiplied by the millions that were required for the war in which France became involved with England. Louis XVI. (1774-1793) was not the man to meet such a crisis. Though in his moral qualities a great contrast to his predecessors, and though he made some efforts to purify the court, he was not a ruler of any intellectual power, nor was he possessed of that energy and firmness of character which were required for the delicate situation in which the government of France then found itself. On his accession to the throne he dismissed the unpopular ministers of Louis XV., recalled the *Parlements* which had been suppressed, and appointed Turgot as Comptroller-General of the Finances. The problem confronting the new Comptroller-General—how to meet the annual deficit without increasing the taxation—was solved by him by the adoption of rigid economy, but his reforms were opposed by the privileged classes, and he was dismissed (1776). His successor, Necker, a Swiss banker, might have succeeded in meeting the annual deficit of twenty-four

million livres had he not been handicapped by the vast additional expenditure required for the war with England. In his difficulties he resolved to make the French nation acquainted with the financial bankruptcy threatening the country, and for this purpose he published his celebrated *Compte Rendu*, which quickly led to his dismissal (1781). Various devices were adopted to stave off the crisis, and in 1787 an Assembly of the Notables of France, composed for the greater part of the nobles and the clergy, was convoked. Even then, confronted with the terrible possibilities of national bankruptcy, the privileged classes refused to abate one iota of their pretensions, put aside all proposals of reform, and were dismissed (May, 1787) without having done anything to ease the situation. Finally, when no other course was open to him, Louis XVI. issued a decree convoking an assembly of the Estates General (8th Aug., 1788).

The Estates General was a body composed of representatives of the nobles, clergy and people of France. Not since the year 1614 had such an assembly been convoked in France. Times had changed since then, and especially, considering the excited feelings of the populace, it was fully recognised that the experiment was likely to prove a dangerous one. Nor was the danger lessened by the royal edict (27th Dec., 1788) arranging that the representation should be distributed on the basis of population as well as of taxation, and that the representatives of the Third Estate should equal in numbers those of the clergy and nobles combined.

(b) THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (1789-1791)

Barruel, *Coll. Eccl. ou recueil complet des ouvrages faits depuis l'Ouverture des États Généraux, relatifs au clergé*, 7 vols. (1791-1793). Barruel, *Histoire du Clergé de France pendant la Révolution* (1794-1804). Jager, *Histoire de l'Église de France pendant la Révolution*, 3 vols. (1860). Sicard, *L'Ancien Clergé de France, les Evêques pendant la Révolution*, 1903. Giobbio, *La Chiesa e lo Stato in Francia durante la Rivoluzione* (1789-1799), 1905.

The Estates met at Versailles (5th May, 1789). Necker, who had been re-appointed Comptroller-Gen-

eral, addressed the Assembly on the financial difficulties of the nation, and after his address the nobles and clergy left the meeting and retired to their different halls for deliberation. This was in accordance with ancient custom, according to which the deliberations should be carried on by orders, but the representatives of the Third Estate clearly recognised that their increased numbers would avail them little unless this old custom were broken, and unless the nobles and clergy were forced to join them in a common assembly, in which the votes of the individuals would carry equal weight. Hence, they refused to constitute themselves into an Assembly of the Third Estate, and demanded that the nobles and clergy should join them in forming a common deliberative council. The clergy were divided as to their attitude on this question, some of the curés voting for compliance with the request, but the nobles refused all concessions. At last, on the proposition of the Abbé Sieyès, one of the ablest of the Paris deputies, a final invitation was sent to the other orders, and on their refusal the representatives of the Third Estate declared themselves the National Assembly of France, and elected Bailly, the astronomer, president of the body. Soon (22nd June) about 160 members of the clergy threw in their lot with the Third Estate; on the 25th June a minority of the nobles, headed by the Duke of Orleans, followed their example; and two days later the remainder of their order and of the clergy yielded at the request of the king.

Louis XVI. was now thoroughly alarmed by the turn events had taken. Necker was regarded by him as the cause of all the misfortune, for it was he who counselled the increased representation of the Third Estate. A number of regiments under the command of the Duc de Broglie began to concentrate upon Paris and Versailles. The populace in Paris resented the military preparations to overawe their representatives; a revolutionary party, encouraged by the Duke of Orleans, began to make itself felt in the capital; and some of the

regular troops showed signs of insubordination. On the 12th July, 1789, the news spread like wildfire that Necker had been dismissed. Immediately the mob took possession of the streets, broke open the gun-shops, seized the fire-arms, captured the Hôtel des Invalides, and carried by storm the renowned prison of Paris, the Bastille. To their astonishment, instead of the crowds of political prisoners supposed to be drooping in its dungeons, they found only seven, and these common malefactors. The king yielded before this outburst of the Paris mob. Necker was recalled to office; the regiments lying around Versailles were dismissed; and their officers, men like the Count d'Artois, the Prince de Condé, the Duc de Bourbon, and the Marshal de Broglie, fled from France. The Revolution had now begun, and these were the first of the *Émigrés*.

On the night of the 4th August, while the report of the committee charged to draft a new constitution was being discussed, a scene of wild excitement took place. All the feudal rights of the nobility, all the privileges of class, of town, and of province, were swept away by general consent. Henceforth all men were to be equal, and the taxes should be levied on all without distinction on the basis of revenue. On that night, too, the clergy renounced their privileges, the tithes were abolished, and no source of revenue was provided to take their place. A solemn Te Deum was chanted to celebrate the inauguration of a new era, and Louis XVI. was proclaimed the "Restorer of French Liberty." The Declaration of the Rights of Man was agreed to a few weeks later (28th Aug.).

General discontent was expressed at the slow progress made by the Assembly in its work of giving France a constitution, and it was felt that Louis XVI. would hardly be satisfied with the "suspensive veto" on legislation that had been decreed to him. The Paris mob,

* Forneron, *Histoire des Émigrés pendant la Révolution*, 2 vols., 1884.

idle and starving, lent a ready ear to the suggestions of the extreme revolutionary party. A mob, composed mostly of women, attacked (Oct. 5) the Hôtel de Ville, and hastened towards the royal palace at Versailles. Lafayette assembled the National Guard, but did not promptly bar the progress of the crowds. They surrounded the palace, clamouring for bread. During the night they burst through an unguarded door, killed some of the bodyguard, and the queen barely escaped with her life. In the end, the king and queen were obliged to accompany the mob to Paris, and to take up their residence in the Tuileries, where they were joined by the National Assembly, which held its sessions in the riding-school. Henceforth, the mob of Paris were the masters of both the king and the assembly.

Meanwhile, measures were passed seriously affecting the ecclesiastical property. The abolition of the tithes had been decreed on the 4th August, but it had not been determined what, if any, compensation should be made to their owners. But soon the principle began to be put forward that ecclesiastical property belonged to the nation, and that therefore the tithes, instead of being commuted or redeemed as the clergy desired, should be wiped away without any equivalent. This was combated by the Abbé Sieyès,* on the ground that such a step was against justice and expediency, that it meant a pure gift of £3,000,000 to the landowners of France, and that the only safe method was to adopt a tithe composition, capitalise the price, and apply the revenue to the support of the Church. The motion was, however, passed with unanimity, the clergy declaring themselves willing to trust the nation. The plurality of benefices, the surplice fees, and the annats were abolished.

The abolition of the usual sources of revenue and the utter disorder reigning in the country soon brought France face to face with bankruptcy. In these circumstances the principle that ecclesiastical property was the property of the nation was invoked in defence of a new

* *Notice sur la vie de Sieyès*, Paris, 1795.

spoliation. Talleyrand, the ex-bishop of Autun, proposed (10th October) that the ecclesiastical property producing an annual revenue of about 70,000,000 and the tithes (80,000,000 livres) should be placed at the disposal of the state, and out of this, after due provision had been made for the maintenance of the clergy and for the ecclesiastical expenses, a balance would remain sufficient to relieve the financial difficulties of the state. This was supported by Mirabeau, and opposed by the Abbé Maury,* afterwards archbishop of Paris, by Malouet, and by Sieyès, but it was carried in November, 1789. It was added that the minimum revenue of curés, exclusive of house and garden, should be fixed at 1,200 livres. Henceforth, the clergy of France were dependent upon the state for their support.

The first sale of church lands was ordered by the Assembly (20th Dec.), and the curés were commanded (5th Feb., 1790) to declare the amount of their revenues. The sale of ecclesiastical lands was not, however, a successful experiment, as few purchasers could be found; and it was arranged that the municipal bodies should take over the property on the strength of promissory notes. These municipal notes were guaranteed by the government, and were put in circulation (Dec.). The holder could realise them in land or money as he wished. These notes were the famous "*Assignats*," which were such a fruitful cause of public and private calamity at a later stage of the Revolution.†

The Assembly went still further. It declared (13th Feb., 1790) the monastic vows of the religious orders of both men and women antagonistic to the spirit of liberty; it consequently declared them null and void, suppressed all such orders, and forbade them to accept novices. Those who should abandon their vows and return to the world were guaranteed a pension, and those who wished to remain in community life were to be con-

* *Correspondence Diplomatique et Mémoires inédits du Cardinal Maury*, 1891.

† Stourm, *Les Finances de l'Ancien Régime et de la Révolution*, 2 vols., Paris, 1885.

gregated without distinction of rules in certain houses selected by the state. These, too, were allowed support from the state, but the pensions were irregularly paid, and the enmity of the municipal authorities and of the mob made their position still more difficult. Out of the 37,000 nuns then in France only six hundred broke their vows and returned to the world, but, as it is natural to expect, there were more defections from the ranks of the 13,136 male members of French religious orders.

✓ In its work of drafting a constitution the Assembly had decreed that the old provinces of France should be suppressed, in favour of a new partition into eighty-four departments of nearly equal size. In their hatred of the government by officials under the old *régime* the Assembly went to the other extreme, and ordained that not alone should the appointment of the departmental and communal representatives depend upon the popular vote, but even the appointment of judges and magistrates. This craze for the system of election ultimately led the Assembly into direct conflict with the principles of the Catholic Church.

The difficulty arose over what is known as the Civil Constitution of the Clergy * (May, 1790). According to this law there should be only one bishop for each of the departments of France, thus abolishing at one stroke forty-eight episcopal sees. The number of archbishops was reduced to ten. The bishops were to be departmental, appointed by the electors, and the curés by the district councils. The bishop might on his appointment announce his election to the Pope as an evidence of his communion with the Holy See; but it was the metropolitan or senior bishop of the province who should ratify his appointment. The cathedral chapters were suppressed, and in place of the canons it was arranged that to each bishop should be assigned a council of vicars whose approval should be necessary for the principal acts of episcopal administration. The curé had the

* Sciout, *Histoire de la Constitution Civile du Clergé* (1790-1801), Paris, 1872-1881.

right of selecting any priest of the diocese as his assistant without reference to the bishop; and in all cases of dispute between the bishop and his priests the ultimate decision rested with the civil authorities. Nor could the bishop or priest be absent from the diocese or parish for more than a fortnight without getting permission—the former from the departmental assembly, the latter from the district council. Besides, the stipends of the clergy were clearly fixed. The archbishop of Paris received 50,000 livres a year, the other archbishops and bishops sums varying from 20,000 to 12,000 livres, while the curés were to be paid from 6,000 to 1,200 livres, and the assistants from 2,400 to 700 livres.

This Civil Constitution of the Clergy was, as is evident, opposed to the divine constitution of the Church. The election of the parish priests and bishops by lay assemblies, the members of which might not be even professing Christians, and without reference to the Holy See, was a change that shocked the consciences of even careless Catholics. The opposition of the clergy to the scheme was, however, overborne, partly, no doubt, through the influence of the Jansenist faction, and nothing now was wanting to give the constitution legal force except the approbation of the king.

The position was a difficult one for Louis XVI. On the one hand he feared that his refusal would only supply a new weapon to the more extreme section of the Assembly, while, on the other, his conscience as a Catholic forbade him to sanction what was at variance with the doctrines of his Church. In his difficulty he turned for advice to Pius VI. The latter, who had followed with the utmost anxiety every step in the discussion of the Civil Constitution, replied (10th July, 1790) to the inquiries of the king by condemning the measure. This condemnation was kept a secret; and at last, yielding to the importunities of the Assembly, and the casuistry of the court theologians, the king affixed his signature to the law, and the Constitution was proclaimed (24th Aug.).

The Church of France was now face to face with open schism. All parties anxiously watched on which side the clergy would group themselves. De Boisgelin, the archbishop of Aix, soon relieved the tension of the situation by publishing his *Exposition des Principes sur la Constitution civile du Clergé*, in which he pointed out in strong but moderate language the schismatical nature of the law. He received the support of all the bishops of France save four—namely, Talleyrand (Autun), Brienne (Sens), Jarente (Orleans), Savine (Viviers). Three titular bishops, Gobel, Miroudot, and Brienne, also refused their adhesion. The vast body of the curés also joined in the condemnation, and it is noteworthy that the first movement of opposition to the Revolution, as, for example, the riots at Montauban, and the “federation of Jalès,” was due to this attack upon the Catholic Church.*

These warnings, though significant, only emboldened the Assembly to force the Civil Constitution on the clergy and the country. On the motion of Mirabeau it was carried that the clergy should swear allegiance to the Civil Constitution under pain of expulsion from their benefices, and the king, alarmed by the threats against both the clergy and himself, attached (26th Dec.) his signature to this proposal of the Assembly. On the 4th January, 1791, the clerical members of the Assembly were called upon to take the oath. Only four of the bishops consented to do so. About 50 of the clerical deputies followed suit, and of the 670 priests officiating in Paris 236, while throughout the whole country the proportion of the priests was a little less, being about one-third of the whole.† ✓

Some of those who made their submission were men from whom, judging by their past history, nothing better could have been expected; while, on the other hand, many who subscribed to the Constitution did so without any clear knowledge of the issues at stake, and

* *Cambridge Modern History*.—*The Revolution*, p. 197.

† Henrion, *L'Histoire de l'Église*, Vol. III., p. 580.

repented of their act as soon as Pius VI. made it clear that the Constitution meant open schism.

The clergy of France were now divided into two sections, the *Assermentés* or Jurors, and the *Insermentés* or non-Jurors. According to the law the latter were to be deprived of their benefices in favour of those who swore allegiance to the Civil Constitution. Talleyrand, assisted by two titular bishops, Gobel and Miroudot, consecrated bishops for Aisne and Finisterre. Gobel himself was promoted to the archbishopric of Paris, Abbé Grégoire to the bishopric of Loir-et-Cher. The best of the clergy refused to have any association with such men, and the Catholics abandoned the religious services in the churches to which constitutional priests were appointed, and followed their faithful pastors to the private houses where they officiated. The king was forced to send away from his court the clergy who refused the oath, and to accept the ministrations of the schismatics. He wished, however, to spend Holy Week (1791) at St. Cloud, where he might have the spiritual assistance of some loyal clergyman, but the mob barred the passage of his carriage, and he was forced to return to the Tuileries. It was this last incident that determined him to make the unsuccessful and unfortunate attempt at escape from France a short time later (20th June).

During all this time Pius VI. followed every phase of the struggle with the greatest anxiety. He perfectly understood the gravity of the situation, but he delayed the public condemnation in the hope that the remedy would come from France itself. But at last he felt that he could no longer delay intervention, and on the 13th April, 1791, he published a Bull condemning the Civil Constitution. This produced a decided effect on many of the curés who had associated themselves with the work of schism, but the eighteen constitutional bishops repudiated the papal condemnation. The other bishops published quite a different reply. They accepted fully the Bull of Pius VI., and offered to resign if such a step could secure peace. Pius VI. refused to accept their

resignation, and again (19th March, 1792) condemned the Constitution.*

The National Assembly replied to the first condemnation of Pius VI. by annexing the old Papal states of Avignon and Venaissin. The work of annexation had been prepared by emissaries of the Paris revolutionary party. Mobs of armed men, headed by the infamous Jourdan, terrorised the country, murdering or expelling those who refused to welcome the advent of the new era.

(c) THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY AND NATIONAL CONVENTION (1791-1795), THE DIRECTORY (1796-1799)

The National Assembly having completed its work of giving France a constitution, dissolved itself, and the elections for the new Chamber began. Owing to the nature of the oath required for the exercise of the franchise, the terrorism of the mobs, and the well-planned complication of the electoral machinery, moderate men absented themselves from the polls, and, as a result, the new Assembly (Oct., 1791), consisting for the most part of untrained men, was more revolutionary in character than its predecessor had been. The Right (*Feuillants*), who favoured government by king and constitution, numbered about 234, the Extreme Left (*Jacobins*), who were bent on revolution, about 134, while the Centre or Moderates, who formed the largest body, terrorised by the galleries and the mob, were obliged to support the measures of the Clubs.

The first year's work of the New Assembly was devoted mainly to legislation against the Church, the non-juring clergy, and the *Émigrés*. Measures were proposed according to which the *Émigrés* who did not return to France before January, 1792, should be condemned to death as traitors, while the clergy who did not take the oath within a week were to be expelled from their benefices. As the Jacobins expected and desired, these proposals were vetoed by the king. A law per-

* Theiner, *Documents Inédits Relatifs aux Affaires Religieuses de la France* (1790-1800), Paris, 1857.

mitting divorce was passed, all pious or religious confraternities were suppressed, episcopal palaces and houses of the religious were put up for sale, and finally a decree of banishment from France was issued (Aug., 1792) against all the non-juring clergy.

Meanwhile, the powers of Europe had become alarmed at the course of events in Paris. Leopold II. of Austria and William II. of Prussia had met at Pillnitz (Aug., 1791), and declared their readiness to intervene if their intervention were supported by the other governments of Europe. The extreme party in France also desired foreign intervention in order to put the king in a false position with his own people. The claims of the German nobles, whose feudal rights in Alsace had been abolished by the National Assembly, and the presence of large bodies of the *Émigrés* on the German frontier, afforded a good pretext for warlike preparations, and on 20th April, 1792, war was declared against Prussia and Austria. An army of 150,000 was quickly put in the field, but on account of the anarchy and disorder reigning on all sides they were no match for the invaders, who, under the leadership of the Duke of Brunswick, continued to advance on Paris. The proclamation issued by the Duke of Brunswick rendered the position of Louis XVI. cruel in the extreme. Was he to fight against the friends marching to his defence, or was he, in defiance of his oaths, to betray his country to the foreigner? The extreme revolutionary party soon relieved the situation. The Commune of Paris was captured by the Jacobins; the mobs were roused; an attack was made (10th Aug., 1792) on the Tuileries, whence Louis XVI. and his wife, Marie Antoinette, had just fled for protection to the Hall of Assembly, and despite the gallant struggle of the devoted Swiss Guards, the royal palace was carried. The Assembly, cowed by the attitude of the Commune, suspended the king from his office, a new ministry was formed from the Extreme Left, and these, together with the Paris Commune, were entrusted with carrying on the provisional government. The Reign of Terror had begun.

Danton, Marat, Robespierre, and their allies were now the dictators of France. The ordinary tribunals of justice were suspended, and watch committees, empowered to seek out and to punish all traitors, were established. When all their leading opponents had been arrested under pretence of securing Paris against the advancing Prussians, a wholesale massacre of the prisoners in Paris was arranged. The massacre began on the 2nd September, 1792, and lasted for about a week. During that time about four hundred priests and one thousand nobles were cruelly done to death in the prisons of Paris by bands of murderers. The word was passed from Paris to the mobs in the other cities to do likewise, and at Meaux, Rheims, Versailles, Lyons, &c., the same sickening scenes of carnage were enacted. The decrees for the banishment of the non-juring clergy were ordered to be enforced rigorously (26th Aug.). Many of the bishops and clergy were torn from their flocks, maltreated in prison, and then hurried across the frontiers; while others had the greatest difficulty in evading the violence of the mobs. They fled into all the neighbouring countries, Italy, Spain, England, Belgium, and Germany, and everywhere, even among the Protestant nations, these exiled clergy received a kind welcome. The Papal States alone provided a refuge for over 2,000 clergy, of whom twenty-four were bishops. In England, too, many of them found a home. It is estimated that well over 2,000 priests fled to England in 1792, and at a later period fully 5,000 of the clergy were dependent upon the generosity of the English people. Large numbers of them were lodged in the palace at Winchester. A public subscription list, opened on their behalf, found generous support, while the government relieved their wants by large annual grants. The emigrant clergy seem to have made a favourable impression on the English Protestant public, and their attitude did much to remove the current anti-Catholic prejudices.*

* Sicard, Vol. III., pp. 1-33. Ward, *The Dawn of the Catholic Revival in England*, 1909, Vol. II., Chapters XIX., XX. and XXVII.

The tide of war seemed to have turned in favour of France. The Duke of Brunswick retreated after the cannonade of Valmy (20th Sept., 1792), Savoy and Nice were occupied by the French troops, General Custine conquered Speyers, Worms, Mayence and Frankfort; while Dumouriez, having defeated the Austrians at Jemappes (6th Nov., 1793), occupied the greater part of the Austrian Netherlands.

In the midst of violent excitement the elections were held, and, as might be anticipated, the new Convention was entirely republican. Among the Paris deputies were such men as Danton, Marat, Robespierre, Desmoulins, and the Duke of Orleans (Philip Égalité). The abolition of the Monarchy was agreed to unanimously. With the monarchy abolished, the Convention was obliged to decide what was to be done with Louis XVI. The debates in the Convention between the Girondists and the Mountain were bitter, but the former, though anxious to save the king's life, were without leaders of ability and determination. The trial began on the 11th December. The king was ably defended by his advocates, but in the end he was condemned (20th Jan., 1793) to die, and was led to the scaffold on the following day, attended by the non-juring Abbé Edgeworth.* The queen, Marie Antoinette, met the same fate (16th Oct.), as did also her sister. The fate of the young prince (Louis XVII.) was miserable in the extreme, and after having been treated with every species of indignity he died (June, 1795) at the age of ten. The sister of the young prince was handed over to the Austrians.

The execution of Louis XVI. roused Europe to the danger of the Revolution. Besides Austria and Prussia, which were already in the field, England declared war, and her example was quickly followed by Russia, Spain, Portugal, and the two Sicilies; Denmark,

* The Abbé Edgeworth (1745-1807) was born in Longford, Ireland, and was brought to France when only four years of age by his father, a Protestant rector, who had become converted to Catholicity.—C. S. Edgeworth, *Memoirs of the Abbe Edgeworth*, London, 1815.

Switzerland and Sweden remaining neutral. In this emergency the need of a strong government was felt on all sides. The Girondist party were overthrown by the aid of the Commune, and the Jacobins, headed by Robespierre, held almost undisputed sway. The Committee of Public Safety was established (April, 1793) and armed with dictatorial powers; and similar committees were established throughout the provinces. For seventeen months the country was at the mercy of these bodies. Wholesale arrests were followed by wholesale executions. The guillotine had its daily quota of victims, and no man knew when his turn might come. Well does this period deserve the title of the Reign of Terror.

Towards the end of 1793 the Hébertist section of the Jacobins was in power, and it was determined to wipe out all traces of the Christian religion. A new calendar was adopted, in which all reference to Sundays, holidays, or saints' days was omitted. The names of the months were changed, the observance of Sunday was strictly forbidden, and in its place every tenth day was fixed as a day of universal rest. Christianity was rejected, and the worship of the Goddess of Reason proclaimed. Gobel, the Constitutional archbishop of Paris, appeared in the Assembly, declared that hitherto the clergy had been deceiving the people, that for the future they knew no religion except equality and fraternity, and that as a sign of his conversion he trampled on his mitre and crozier, the emblems of his former deception. The church of Notre Dame was transformed into a temple of Reason, and there on the 10th November a solemn service to the Goddess of Reason was carried out amidst the most revolting scenes. A new onslaught was made on the clergy. Many were arrested and thrown into prison, thousands of the others fled for refuge across the nearest frontier. The churches were demolished or desecrated, the sacred vessels were melted and coined into money, pictures and statues of priceless value were destroyed, while not even the cemeteries and

the monuments of the dead escaped in this universal vandalism.

But the policy of the Reign of Terror met with violent opposition in different parts of France. Lyons and Toulon rose in revolt, and were reduced only after a severe struggle. It was, however, from the district of *La Vendée* that the most determined opposition came. These provinces were intensely Catholic, and the most friendly relations existed between the nobles, clergy and people. The attempts to force the Constitutional bishops and priests on the people were warmly resented. The movement grew day by day till at last (March, 1793) three thousand conscripts refused enrolment lest they should be forced to fight against their own religion. They seized the town of Saint Florent, called the neighbouring parishes to their assistance, and soon the whole district was up in arms. It was a war in defence of religion. The Convention sent against them immense armies; but at first without success. The struggle was bitter in the extreme. The Convention aimed at nothing less than the total extermination of the men of *La Vendée*. Numbers told in the end, especially as the leaders of the peasants were divided, and the allies afforded little assistance. But though defeated they were not completely overthrown, as Napoleon (1799) was obliged to guarantee to the men of *La Vendée* that for which they had fought, namely, liberty of worship.

The Convention, though wonderfully successful against the external enemies of France, was divided against itself. The leading Girondists were arrested (31st May, 1793), and the Mountain, led by Robespierre, Danton and Marat, became the masters. Their reign was, however, threatened by the Hébertists in Paris, and the guillotine had to be requisitioned (March, 1794) to suppress their opposition. Marat had been stabbed (13th July, 1793), Danton and his followers were put to death (March, 1794), and now Robespierre, having rid himself of all rivals, acted as a dictator. Perceiving that the excesses of his party were resented by

the less extreme men in France, he endeavoured to introduce a policy of moderation by declaring that a belief in God and the immortality of the soul was necessary as a foundation of virtue and morality. The Convention ratified (May, 1794) this declaration. A solemn feast in honour of the Supreme Being was held at the Champ de Mars (June, 1794), at which Robespierre, accompanied by the members of the Convention, officiated as high priest, but this was his last great public act, for a conspiracy had been prepared against him, and he and his partisans were sent to the guillotine (July, 1794). The powers of the Committee of Public Safety were curtailed, the suspects liberated, the Girondist deputies recalled, and men began again to breathe freely, because the Reign of Terror had passed away.

The armies of France had met with astonishing success during all this period. General Pichegru had advanced through Belgium and Holland, entered Amsterdam in triumph on 20th of January, 1795, and the Batavian Republic was proclaimed as the ally of France. General Jourdan drove back the Prussians and Austrians, and forced Prussia to demand peace (April, 1795), while Spain, too, concluded terms some months later. Austria, England and Sardinia still maintained the struggle.

Meanwhile, a new constitution, two Chambers, and an executive Directory had been accepted by the Convention (Aug., 1795), and by the country. The Paris sections alone opposed this plan, but they were quickly reduced to submission by the stern firmness of Napoleon Bonaparte. The Convention was dissolved, and the members of the Directory came into office.

Napoleon was selected to lead the troops operating in Italy, and never did an officer better justify his selection. Starting from Nice in March, 1796, he directed his forces against the armies of Piedmont and Austria, and taking them separately he forced Piedmont to yield up to France Savoy and Nice. He next attacked the Austrians, blocked Bologna, and forced Pius VI. to beg for an armistice. Meanwhile, the French armies operat-

ing in German territory under Jourdan and Moreau were obliged to fall back, and the position of Napoleon might have become serious had he not won the battles of Arcoli and Rivoli, and taken Mantua, thus making himself master of Italy.

During the Italian campaign the Papal States did not escape.* The French soldiers over-ran the Legations, and Pius VI. was forced to sue for an armistice (23rd June, 1796), which was granted on condition that the Pope pay a large sum of money, surrender many valuable manuscripts and pictures, and allow France to hold Ancona and the Legations of Bologna and Ferrara. As soon, however, as Napoleon had worsted the Austrians in Italy he again turned his attention to the Papal States at the special request of the Directory. He demanded that all briefs published against France should be recalled at once, and on the Pope's refusal he seized portions of his States, threatened a march on Rome, and obliged the Pope to conclude the Treaty of *Tolentino* (1797), by which all claims to Avignon were finally abandoned, and a war indemnity of fifteen million francs was to be paid into the French Exchequer. Austria, too, concluded the peace of *Campo Formio* (1797), by which France secured the Belgic provinces from Austria, the Rhine was fixed as the eastern boundary of France, the Cisalpine and Ligurian Republics were recognised, while Austria got Venice and retained the rest of her Italian possessions.

But the Directory was not satisfied with the severe terms exacted from Pius VI. by Napoleon. They wished the complete destruction not only of the Temporal Power, but of all Papal authority. French emissaries spared no pains to encourage a revolt in Rome, and on one occasion, when the Papal troops were obliged to fire upon the mob, an attaché of the French Embassy, General Duphot, was killed. General Berthier immediately advanced on Rome, entered the city, and five days later the Roman Republic was proclaimed. The

* Duforcq, *Le Régime Jacobin en Italie*, Paris, 1900. Baldassari-Couture, *Histoire de l'Enlèvement et de la Captivité de Pie VI.*, 1844.

wild excesses of the Paris mob were reproduced in Rome. It was hoped to force Pius VI. to flee from the city, but in this his enemies were deceived. In the circumstances nothing remained but to seize him by force, and take him away as a prisoner. He was first brought to Sienna, then to Florence, but the friendly attitude of the populace constituted a danger to the power of the Directory, and he was transferred to Grenoble, and thence to Valence, where he died (22nd Aug., 1799). In 1802 his remains were brought back to his own city, and laid to rest in the Basilica of St. Peter.

Meanwhile, Napoleon had undertaken the inglorious expedition to the East, and during his absence the Directory, divided into Royalist and Republican factions, was unable to maintain its supreme power. On his return, backed by Sieyès and the army, he drove his opponents from the two Chambers, and secured the appointment of three Consuls—Sieyès, Ducros, and himself, as a provisional government, empowered to frame a new constitution. The new constitution was ratified by the people (24th Dec., 1799), and Napoleon having been elected First Consul took up his residence in the Tuileries (19th Feb., 1800) as the ruler of France in fact though not in law.

(d) THE CONSULATE (1799-1804) AND THE EMPIRE (1804-1815)

Taine, *Le Régime Moderne*, 3 vols., 1901. Thiers, *Hist. du Consulat et de l'Empire*, Paris, 1845. Card. Mathieu, *Le Concordat de 1801*, Paris, 1903. Sévestre, *L'Histoire . . . du Concordat de 1801*, 1905. Rinieri, *La Diplomazia Pontificia nel secolo, XIX.*; *Il Concordato tra Pio VII. e il primo console, Rome*, 1902. Theiner, *Hist. des deux Concordats conclus en 1801 et 1803*, Paris, 1869. Séché, *Les Origines du Concordat*, Paris, 1895. Artaud, *Hist. du Pape, Pie VII.*, 3 vols., 1833. Consalvi, *Mémoires*, 1864.

The First Consul immediately made overtures of peace to England, but they were promptly rejected. He next turned his attention to Italy, where the Austrians had

shut up General Masséna in Genoa. Crossing the Great Saint Bernard, Napoleon took the Austrian forces in the rear, and inflicted on them a signal defeat at Marengo (14th June, 1800), while a few months later General Moreau, operating against the Austrians on German territory, was completely victorious at Hohenlinden. In consequence of these repeated defeats Austria was obliged to conclude the *Peace of Lunéville* (Feb., 1801), according to which the Rhine was recognised as the eastern boundary of France, the Batavian, Cisalpine, Ligurian and Helvetic Republics were acknowledged, and the Papal States in part restored.*

Napoleon, on his appointment as First Consul, devoted himself to the internal reorganisation of the country, religion, education, commerce and agriculture. The religious affairs of France were in a state of complete disorder. From the overthrow of the Reign of Terror the Constitutional clergy, who had not openly apostatised, exercised their functions without any hindrance from the government. In 1797 they held a national synod in the church of Notre Dame, attended by twenty-six bishops, and took measures to organise their work in France and in the colonies. A new religion was formed by those who wished to combat the evil effects of public atheism. They were of the school of Rousseau and Robespierre. The sect was known under the name of Theophilanthropists.† Its principal apostle was Révellière-Lepeaux, a member of the Directory. It began in Paris about 1796, and had its priests, its temples, its feasts, that of Socrates, Jean Jacques Rousseau, St. Vincent de Paul, &c., its liturgy, and its special prayers. The sect of the Theophilanthropists made a certain number of converts in Paris, but very few outside the capital. Through the influence of Révellière-Lepeaux, the Directory favoured the new sect, and handed over for their use some of the great churches of Paris. Their

* England continued the war, but a general peace was arranged at the Congress of Amiens in 1802.

† Mathiez, *La Théophilanthropie et le Culte Décadaire, 1796-1801*, Paris, 1904.

religion was, however, too cold and intellectual ever to become popular. The opponents of the sect covered them with ridicule. On the overthrow of the Directory the First Consul set his face against the Theophilanthropists, and they quickly disappeared.

Napoleon, though personally indifferent in religious matters, was strongly convinced that government without religion is an impossibility. Besides, he foresaw that the restoration of Catholicism in France might secure for him the support of the vast body of French Catholics. Hence, he opposed the Theophilanthropists, opened the churches again to public worship, set free the clergy who were detained in prison, altered the form of oath to the constitution, abolished the Decade, and permitted the observance of Sunday as a day of rest. But these measures were only preparing the way for the act which was to restore official relations with the Holy See, the concordat, namely, between France and Pius VII.

On the death of Pius in the prison of Valence the enemies of the Holy See congratulated themselves that they had seen the last of the Popes. Pius VI. could have no successor. But their hopes were sorely disappointed. When it became known that Pius VI. was dead, Cardinal Albani summoned the conclave to meet at Venice, whither many of the Cardinals had fled to seek the protection of the Austrians. Consalvi* acted as secretary to the conclave, and in that position gave proof of the great diplomatic powers which entitle him to rank among the greatest of the European statesmen of the nineteenth century.

The conclave opened in the Benedictine monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore on 30th November, 1799. There were present thirty-four out of forty-six members of the sacred college. They were divided mainly into two parties, those who favoured the pretensions of Austria, and those who wished to continue the policy of Pius VI. At last, after repeated interferences from Austria, some of the neutral cardinals, amongst them

* Alfieri, *Vie du Cardinal Consalvi*, Florence, 1822.

being Maury, the representative of the exiled Louis XVIII. of France, proposed Cardinal Chiaramonte as a suitable man, and on the 14th March he was unanimously elected. Out of grateful remembrance of the dead Pontiff he took the name of Pius VII. No more suitable man could have been found to meet the difficulties in which the Catholic Church then found herself. As bishop of Imola he had shown that he realised that a new era had begun in the history of the world, and that the true interests of the Church demanded that she should reconcile herself with the republican ideas that had come to supplant the old theories of royalty.* He was crowned on the 21st March and received the congratulations of Austria, Spain, Naples, Sardinia, and Russia.

Owing to the Austrian successes in Italy it was possible for Pius VII. to return to the Papal States. He immediately started from Venice on an Austrian vessel, and on the 3rd July, 1800, he made his solemn entry into the Eternal City amidst the enthusiastic greetings of the people. All parties were delighted to have a Pope again in their midst, and Pius VII. was not the man to stir up bitter memories by a policy of severity. Napoleon had vanquished the Austrians at Marengo a few weeks previously, and as a means to the consolidation of his own power in France resolved to open up negotiations with the new Pope.

The first move was made by Napoleon himself. On his way from Marengo he met Cardinal Martiniana, the bishop of Vercelli (24th June, 1800), and laid before him his views on the settlement of the religious difficulty in France. He requested the cardinal to submit these proposals to the Pope. This was done without delay, and having consulted his cardinals Pius VII. resolved to spare no time in arranging a concordat. Spina, the archbishop of Corinth, was selected for the work of negotiation, as he had accompanied Pius VI. to

* Nielsen, *The History of the Papacy in the Nineteenth Century*, Vol. I., pp. 208-210, London, 1906.

Valence, and had already made the acquaintance of Napoleon, and Caselli, a former general of the Servites, accompanied him as theologian. They hoped to have met Napoleon in Italy, but he had already set out for Paris, leaving instructions for the Papal ambassadors to follow him. Thither they followed him, and arrived in Paris in November, 1800.

The negotiations, which opened on the 8th of November, were carried on between Spina and Caselli, representing the Pope, and Talleyrand and the Abbé Berthier, representing Napoleon. The proposals outlined by Napoleon in his conference with the Cardinal Bishop of Vercelli formed the basis of discussion. After various schemes and counter-schemes had been proposed, and rejected, Napoleon at last gave his approval to one which was submitted to Rome in February, 1801. Pius VII. assembled two commissions of the cardinals to consider the terms of the proposal, but their view was that the Pope could not conscientiously accept such an offer. They prepared a new draft in accordance with the wishes of Pius VII., but Napoleon, roused by the delays, forwarded a peremptory note to Cacault, his representative at Rome, ordering him to break off the negotiations unless his terms were accepted within five days (28th May). In this serious dilemma Cacault suggested that open rupture could be avoided only by Consalvi's immediate departure for Paris. Consalvi lost no time in following the ambassador's advice, and on the 4th June he started on his journey to Paris, arriving there on the 20th of the same month. He took up his residence with Spina and Caselli at the Hotel de Rome.

Talleyrand and Berthier had at last met their match. The new Papal representative was a past master in the art of diplomacy, well able to cope with the machinations of Napoleon, and from his winning manner and persuasive powers well deserving of his title "the Siren of Rome." Unmoved by the angry mutterings of Napoleon and his threats of throwing aside the Pope, and setting

up a National Church with the aid of the Constitutional clergy, Consalvi calmly proceeded to argue point after point of the proposed concordat. Several times the negotiations were on the point of being broken off, as Consalvi held steadfastly by his principles in face of exorbitant demands, but in the end the terms were agreed upon, and the nominees of both parties, Consalvi, Spina, Caselli representing the Pope, the Abbé Berthier, Cretet, and Joseph Bonaparte representing Napoleon, attached their signatures to the document (16th July, 1801). Consalvi immediately set out for Rome to secure its ratification by the Pope. This was no easy task, as the concordat was bitterly opposed on political grounds by Cardinal Maury, the representative of the exiled Bourbons, and on theological grounds by many of the Papal counsellors. In the end, however, the college of cardinals by a large majority declared that it was lawful for the Pope to ratify the agreement, which he did on the 15th August, 1801. Maury, the ambassador of Louis XVIII., immediately retired from the Papal Court.

The concordat consisted of a preamble which clearly laid it down that the agreement was regarded as a solemn treaty concluded between France and the Holy See, and of seventeen separate clauses. The first article guaranteed the free exercise of the Catholic religion in France, and freedom of public worship, this latter, however, being subject to the police regulations, which might be deemed necessary for the preservation of public order. Consalvi struggled hard against this restriction, as he suspected a sinister motive behind these police regulations, but, as it was explained to him that these referred only to processions and such like, and as further resistance might have meant a rupture, he at last gave his consent. As may be seen later, the suspicions of Consalvi were well founded. A new division of the dioceses was to be made by the Holy See in concert with the French Government, and to facilitate this division the Pope was to request the resignation of the exiled

bishops, and proceed to fill up the new dioceses erected in France. The method of appointing to these new dioceses was carefully arranged. The First Consul was to nominate the bishops within three months after the publication of the Papal Bull, and the Holy See was to confer canonical institution according to the form arranged for France before the change of government. In case of all future episcopal vacancies the nomination was to be made by the First Consul in the same way, and canonical institution was to be conferred by the Holy See. The new bishops were to take the oath of allegiance to the existing constitution of France in presence of the First Consul, while the curés were to take a similar oath in the presence of the civil authorities.

The bishops when appointed could make, with the consent of the government, a new arrangement of their parishes. They could appoint curés, but these should be agreeable to the government. They could erect a chapter in their cathedral or a seminary for the education of their clerical students, but the state was in no way bound to supply the necessary funds; while, finally, they were to have at their disposal all the churches, cathedral and parochial, which had not been alienated, and which were necessary for worship. For the sake of peace the Holy Father renounced all claim to the ecclesiastical property that had been seized and disposed of; and, on the other hand, Napoleon assured a decent sustentation to the bishops and curés, and promised to take measures to permit people who wished, to establish new ecclesiastical foundations. Finally, it was agreed that if the First Consul or his successors should ever cease to be Catholics a new arrangement must be arrived at regarding the nomination of bishops.

Cardinal Caprara was despatched (5th Sept.) as legate *a latere* to carry out the provisions of the concordat, regarding the new division of the French dioceses, the resignation of the *Émigrés* bishops, and the appointment of their successors. Pius VII. issued a brief requesting the exiled bishops to resign their sees for the welfare of

the Church, and many of them promptly responded by forwarding their resignations. Of the eighty-one bishops, however, thirty-six either refused absolutely or suggested delay. The painful duty then devolved upon the Pope of depriving them of their bishoprics. The Constitutional bishops were obliged to comply with the request of Napoleon, but the letters addressed by many of them to the Holy See were far from satisfactory (*Le Génie*).

The division of the dioceses having been carried out, and the legitimate and Constitutional bishops having been removed, the next question to be dealt with was the appointment of a new body of bishops. Here a great difficulty arose. Napoleon proposed to nominate a certain number of the Constitutional bishops to the new sees against the wishes of the legate and of the Pope. Cardinal Caprara demanded from such candidates at least a definite, if not a public, retractation. Seven of the twelve appointed refused to sign the formula forwarded by the Pope for signature. It was now Holy Week, and the proclamation of the concordat had been fixed for Easter Sunday. At last, it was agreed that the Constitutional bishops should make a verbal retraction before appointed witnesses, Mgr. Bernier and Mgr. de Pancemont. The refractory bishops were duly convoked, and apparently made a kind of retractation with which the legate was forced to be content. All difficulties had been removed, and the way was now ready for the official publication of the concordat in Rome and in Paris.

On Easter Sunday (18th April), 1802, the concordat was solemnly proclaimed in Paris. The Church of Notre Dame, the scene of the impieties of Robespierre and the schismatical harangues of Abbé Grégoire, was appropriately selected for the brilliant religious ceremony. Napoleon attended in state, surrounded by his old companions in arms, the officials and the diplomatic corps. De Boisgelin, the former archbishop of Aix, preached the sermon, and it was a curious coincidence that he it was who preached the oration in the cathedral

of Rheims at the coronation of the unfortunate Louis XVI., nor was it without significance that in the course of his sermon at Notre Dame he drew a pointed comparison between the First Consul and the great defenders of Christianity and the Holy See, Pepin and Charles the Great. Congratulatory messages poured in from all parts of Europe, from England, Prussia, Austria, and Switzerland. Napoleon was highly satisfied with his success, and in spite of the raillery of his generals, and the attacks of the unbelievers, maintained till his dying day that the concordat was one of his greatest victories.

The concordat was solemnly proclaimed at Rome on the same day, and was enthusiastically received. But the satisfaction at Rome was considerably diminished when it became known that, together with the concordat, a series of articles, known as the Organic Articles, had been appended to the concordat, and published as if they, too, had formed part of the agreement ratified by Pius VII. The origin of these Organic Articles is not to be attributed entirely to Napoleon's love of deception. When he had concluded the concordat he found that many of his ministers, notably Talleyrand, and his generals and lawyers, were opposed to the measure of liberty he had conceded to the Church. He realised, too, that in the state of men's minds it would be difficult, if not impossible, to secure the approval of the Tribune and the Legislative Assembly. In this juncture he bethought himself of the restriction contained in the first clause, against which Consalvi had struggled so earnestly, namely, the police regulations on the free exercise of public worship; and he resolved by an unfair interpretation of this clause to publish a series of regulations which would take away to a great extent the liberty that had been conceded in the concordat.

The Organic Articles consisted of seventy-seven clauses. The most important of them are those which forbade the publication of all Papal documents, the decrees of councils, even of general councils, the

exercise of legatine powers, the convocation of a national provincial or even a diocesan synod, without the authorisation of the government. The Council of State was empowered to hear all charges of abuse of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; the bishops were hampered in the administration of their dioceses, and the curés in the work of their parishes, by all kinds of petty restrictions; the four Gallican articles were to be taught in the seminaries, and the use of a common catechism was enjoined.

The Pope protested immediately through Cacault, the French Minister at Rome, against the publication of the Organic Articles (12th May, 1802).^{*} In his public allocution a few days later he renewed his protests, and again through Consalvi (25th May) and Caprara (18th Aug., 1803). When, later on, negotiations were opened to induce Pius VII. to visit Paris for the coronation of Napoleon, the question of the Organic Articles was again brought forward, and both Talleyrand and Portalis freely admitted that the Organic Articles were not included in the concordat, but were laws passed by France for the carrying out of the concordat, and it was in a great measure in the hope that he might secure the repeal of these laws that Pius VII. was induced to undertake the journey to Paris. It is important, therefore, to note that the Organic Articles stood on a different footing from the clauses of the concordat. The former had merely the sanction of laws, and might, therefore, be enforced or withdrawn at will, the latter formed a solemn treaty between two great powers, and could be modified or withdrawn only with the approval of the consenting parties.

The concordat was opposed from two sides, by the royalists as a betrayal of the rights of Louis XVIII., and by the revolutionary party as a concession to the forces of reaction. The former constituted the sect known as the *Anticoncordataires* or *Petite Église*,† which was ruled at first by De Thémynes, the bishop of

^{*} Sévestre, *Hist. du Concordat*, pp. 502-5.

† Drochon, *La Petite Église*, Paris, 1894.

Blois. Later on the bishops disappeared, and the government was carried on by simple priests; but having lost its strength in La Vendée and Poitou, it gradually fell away from public notice. The revolutionary party, who detested all religion, were kept in check by Napoleon. Fortunately, too, the Catholic cause was supported by the Breton nobleman, Chateaubriand. His book, *Le Génie du Christianisme* (1802), setting forth the beauties of Christianity, though, from the point of view of apologetics, too poetical and imaginative, served as a valuable antidote to the poisonous onslaughts of Voltaire and his companions of the *Encyclopædia*.

For some time after the conclusion of the concordat Napoleon was generous with the Catholic Church, increasing the salaries of the cardinals and clergy, helping the clerical seminaries, arranging for due respect to the Blessed Sacrament, and even permitting the return of some of the religious orders. But all this was only a preparation for the establishment of religious as well as political despotism. He published a catechism for general use, in which obedience to the Emperor was strongly inculcated, suppressed all the clerical papers except one, which was published under strict censorship, interfered in the episcopal pastorals, placed the seminaries under the control of the Paris University, and arrested some of the bishops and cardinals who opposed him.

In 1802, Napoleon had been declared First Consul for life. Though he had concluded a successful peace with England and Austria he was still far from satisfied, and his continued interference with the affairs of the Cisalpine, Ligurian, Helvetic and Batavian Republics made it clear to everyone that these states were really tributaries of France. England naturally resented such an expansion of French power, and owing to some differences about commerce and the non-restoration of Malta, diplomatic relations were broken in August, 1803. England immediately seized all French shipping found in English waters, and Napoleon, by way of retaliation,

promptly ordered the arrest of all English subjects in France. A French army quickly occupied Hanover, and an immense flotilla was got ready to carry into England the army of invasion encamped along the coast between Havre and Ostend. During the war a conspiracy was formed against Napoleon, and as a result of the conspiracy the friends of Napoleon loudly proclaimed that the stability of government could be guaranteed only by declaring Napoleon Emperor, and the succession hereditary in his family. This was passed by both Senate and Legislative Assembly in May, 1804. The dreams of Napoleon had been realised. He was to be another Charlemagne, and, like Charlemagne, though for quite a different reason, he wished his coronation to be carried out in the presence of the Pope. The benediction of the Church would legalise the position of the new Emperor in the eyes of the masses.

But unlike Charlemagne, who went to Rome to receive the Imperial Crown, Napoleon resolved to request the Pope to come to Paris for the ceremony. The request placed Pius VII. in an embarrassing position. The oath prescribed for Napoleon, namely, that he should uphold the laws regarding the concordat and the freedom of worship in France, raised a difficulty about the Organic Articles, against which the Pope had protested. Besides, Louis XVIII., backed by many of the *Émigré* bishops, had lodged a solemn protest against the new *régime* in France. But in the circumstances the sympathy of Napoleon was all-important for the Church. The difficulties about the Organic Articles were to a great extent removed by the explanations of Talleyrand, and in the hope of securing their complete withdrawal and the restoration of the territories that had been taken from the Papal states, Pius VII., in spite of the opposition of many of his cardinals, determined to accede to the wishes of the new Emperor.

On the 2nd November Pius VII., accompanied by Cardinal Fesch,* the uncle of Napoleon, and the French

* Ricard, *Le Cardinal Fesch*, Paris, 1893.

ambassador at Rome, set out on his journey for Paris. Everywhere through Italy and France the people crowded to honour him and receive his blessing, so that it could be well said that the Pope travelled to Paris "through a people on their knees." He was welcomed at Paris by Napoleon, by the Senate, the Legislative Assembly, the Tribunate, and the *Conseil d'État*, but more especially by the citizens of Paris, and was lodged in the Tuileries in a suite of rooms furnished exactly as his own apartments in the Quirinal.

The coronation took place on the 2nd December in the Church of Notre Dame.* The walls of the sacred edifice had been completely draped with costly gold embroidery in honour of the event. The Papal throne stood on the right side of the altar, while in the other end of the church, right opposite the high altar, and against the main door of the church, was erected the imperial throne. The Pope anointed the Emperor and Empress according to the ancient ritual. He blessed the crowns, sword, and rings, but as the moment approached for the coronation the Emperor took the crown from the hands of the Pope and placed it on his own head, and, taking the crown blessed for the Empress, he placed it on her head. The Emperor returned to his place on the magnificent throne. The cries of "Long Live the Emperor" resounded through the building, and were taken up by the masses outside, while the booming of the cannon over the city announced to the capital that France had its anointed Emperor.

Napoleon having secured all he desired, paid scant attention to the representations of Pius VII. In spite of all his efforts the Pope failed to secure the withdrawal of the Organic Articles, the restitution of the Legations, compensation for the seizure of Avignon and Venaissin, or the modification of the laws regarding divorce and the trial of the clergy. He found himself treated as a prisoner rather than as an honoured guest, and it was even hinted to him that he should not return

* Baille, *Le Sacre de Napoléon* (Correspondant, Nov., 1904).

to Rome, but should take up his residence in Paris or Avignon. Then he would have become in reality what Napoleon wished he should be, grand chaplain to the French Emperor. The devotion of the people of Paris made up for the coldness of Napoleon, and the submission of some Constitutional bishops compensated for the humiliations which Pius VII. was obliged to endure.

He notified his intention of returning to Rome, and as no advantage could be gained by opposition Napoleon interposed no obstacle. The return journey of the Pope was marked by the same demonstrations of popular respect as had been his voyage to Paris. In Florence, Scipio Ricci, the bishop of Pistoia, visited him and made his submission. At last, on the 16th May, 1805, he arrived at Rome, and was joyously welcomed by the Roman people, who had feared that when he had gone to Paris he was lost to them for ever. Excellent as were the intentions of Pius VII., and difficult as was his situation, the coronation of Napoleon can hardly be reckoned amidst the glories of his pontificate.

The good relations between the Pope and the Emperor did not last long. Difficulties soon arose regarding the extension of the Civil Code to Italy and the appointment of Italian bishops. Besides, Jerome Bonaparte, the brother of Napoleon, and the future King of Westphalia, had married an American lady named Patterson in 1803. Napoleon, who had other plans for the marriages of members of his family, requested Pius VII. to declare the matrimonial contract null and void. The Pope having made careful inquiries about the publication of the Tridentine decrees in Baltimore naturally refused to accede to this request. A little later the French troops, on their march from Naples, seized the Papal post of Ancona, and continued to hold it in spite of the energetic protests of Consalvi and the Pope.

This was only the beginning of the policy of aggression. In 1806, Napoleon wrote to the Pope warning him to keep aloof from the other powers, pointing out that the

enemies of the Emperor were also the enemies of the Pope, and that, therefore, the Pope should break off diplomatic relations with the governments hostile to France, expel their subjects from the Papal States, close his harbours against them, and join the Continental blockade. With such a request, which would have involved him in war with the leading nations, the Pope refused to comply; and, at the same time, he repudiated the idea that the Papal States were in any way subject to the Emperor of France. In a short time Civita Vecchia, the port of Rome, was occupied by a French force. Benevento and Pontecorvo, two possessions of the Pope, were granted by the Emperor to Talleyrand and Bernadotte. Consalvi, who was regarded by Napoleon as his special enemy, resigned the Secretaryship of State, and Cardinal Casoni was appointed. This concession, however, did not satisfy Napoleon, who had made up his mind to seize the Papal States which lay as an inconvenient barrier between the new kingdom of Naples ruled by his brother Joseph and the French kingdom of North Italy.

In 1808, General Miollis was ordered to march as if through the Papal States to Naples, but in reality to take possession of Rome. The Pope broke off all diplomatic relations with the French Government, and in preparation for the eventful struggle which he clearly foresaw he appointed Cardinal Pacca * Secretary of State. The new Secretary, though not gifted with Consalvi's powers of diplomacy, had other qualifications which marked him out as the proper man for such a crisis. He was endowed with unconquerable determination, and in the midst of the greatest dangers he spoke and acted as a man who never knew fear.

On the 18th May Napoleon issued his famous decree at Schönbrunn, abolishing the temporal sovereignty of the Pope, and annexing his territory to the Emperor. This decree was published in Rome on the 10th June; the Papal flag was lowered from the Castle of St. Angelo,

* *Mémoires du Cardinal Pacca*, Brussels, 1839.

and the tricolour hoisted over the eternal city. Cardinal Pacca hastened to the Pope and insisted that the Bull of Excommunication against all who had violently assailed the Papal possessions should be published. Brave men were found willing to risk their lives by affixing it to the doors of St. Peter's, the Lateran, and Santa Maria Maggiore, and before the sun went down the Romans realised to their joy that Pius VII. had thrown down the gauntlet to the tyrant of Europe. Pius VII. and Cardinal Pacca were arrested quietly, escorted out of the city, and brought to Savona, where the Pope was detained a prisoner for three years, but Pacca was separated from him and sent to Fenestrelle. The foreign cardinals had been ordered to retire to their respective countries, and twenty-six of the others were now brought to Paris, that they might be under the power of the Emperor in case of the death of Pius VII.

Napoleon had now (1809) reached the zenith of his power. War had been declared between France and England in 1803, and England was assisted by Austria and Russia. Napoleon by a rapid advance on Vienna and the brilliant victory over the Russians and Austrians at Austerlitz (2nd Dec., 1805) forced Austria to make peace with France at Pressburg. About the same time the expulsion of the Bourbons from Naples was decreed and Joseph Bonaparte was proclaimed king (1806). Another brother, Louis, was appointed the ruler of Holland. The Confederation of the Rhine was formed by which Bavaria, Baden, and the minor German States, separated themselves definitely from the Holy Roman Empire, and became united to France by an offensive and defensive alliance. Prussia declared war immediately, but Napoleon inflicted two dreadful defeats on the Prussian forces at Jena and Auerstädt (1806). He occupied Berlin, from which he dictated to Europe the continental blockade against England. Prussia was forced to cede Westphalia, over which Jerome Bonaparte was placed as king. The campaign against the Russians was not such a decided success, and as both sides were

anxious to end the war peace was made between them at Tilsit (7th July, 1807).

England alone refused to make terms. At Trafalgar (1805) the English fleet had destroyed the naval power of France, but so long as the war was confined to the east of Europe England was naturally unable to give much effective assistance on land to the opponents of Napoleon. But now, by his ill-advised attacks on Portugal and Spain, Napoleon had given England the opportunity for which she had long waited, and it must be admitted that she made the most of Napoleon's blunder. In his efforts to enforce the blockade the Emperor was obliged to declare war on Portugal, and having captured Lisbon he turned his attention to Spain, where the disputes between the weak-minded Charles IV. and his worthless son, Ferdinand, afforded a good pretext for interference. Joseph Bonaparte, King of Naples, was now proclaimed ruler of Spain and Portugal. The people of Spain and Portugal rose in revolt, and England determined to send an army to their assistance. When Austria found that Napoleon was involved in difficulties in Spain war preparations were again pushed forward. Napoleon adopted his usual tactics of carrying the war into the enemy's country, took Vienna, and defeated the Austrians at Wagram (6th July), and forced Austria to accept a humiliating peace (1809). Thus, at the time Pius VII. was carried away a prisoner from Rome, all Europe except England seemed to be at the mercy of Napoleon.

It was at the conclusion of this campaign that Napoleon finally made up his mind to divorce Josephine and marry Maria Louisa, the daughter of the Austrian Emperor.* He had married Josephine, the wife of Alexander Beauharnais, after the death of her husband, on the 9th March, 1796, before the civil officials. This civil marriage had not been solemnised by any religious ceremony, though Josephine herself had

* Masson, *Joséphine Repudiée*, Paris, 1901. Welschinger, *Le Divorce de Napoléon*, 1889. Bingham, *The Marriage of the Bonapartes*, 2 vols., London, 1882.

sometimes expressed a wish that their union should be blessed by the Church, but on the eve of the coronation she had an interview with Pius VII., and, as the result of the interview, the Pope insisted on a religious ceremony as a condition for his presence at the coronation. Cardinal Fesch received from the Pope all the faculties necessary for the marriage, and he carried out the ceremony in a private room of the palace without witnesses, Napoleon having refused to allow any such to be present. The whole affair was kept a profound secret, known only to Fesch, Berthier, Duroc and Talleyrand. They lived fairly happy together, but Josephine was without children, and Napoleon wished to consolidate his conquests by the presence of an heir. On his return from Austria to Fontainebleau (Nov., 1809), in spite of the tears and entreaties of Josephine, Napoleon opened the matter to the Council of State, and it was agreed that the interests of the nation required the divorce. On account of the relations between Pius VII. and the Emperor, and the fear that the decision would be unfavourable, it was thought best not to approach the Pope on the question of the validity of the marriage contract with Josephine.

The diocesan court of Paris undertook to give a decision on this difficult question. The first marriage was easily set aside on the ground of clandestinity, but it was not such an easy matter to upset the second. On behalf of Napoleon it was contended that he never gave that consent, without which there could have been no valid marriage, and as an evidence of this defect of consent it was pointed out that he had not asked for the blessing of the Church on his union with Josephine, that when it became necessary for him to submit to a religious ceremony he had insisted on the presence of no witnesses, although he was well aware such witnesses were required for a binding marriage, and that, finally, after the marriage he had protested to Fesch, Marshal Duroc, and others, that he had given no consent. Though the faculties granted to Cardinal Fesch were probably wide

enough to enable him to dispense with the presence of witnesses, still the plea of defect of consent remained, and, dishonourable as it may be to Napoleon, it is not so clear that at the marriage he had not adopted this deceitful method of ridding himself of Josephine if occasion required. The decision was given in favour of Napoleon, and he was now free to contract an alliance with a princess of the House of Habsburg.

The twenty-seven cardinals who were present in Paris were divided as to the attitude they should assume towards the marriage ceremony of Napoleon with Maria Louisa. Cardinal Fesch was to officiate, and a good number of his colleagues agreed to support him. Consalvi, however, refused to attend at the marriage (2nd April, 1810), and twelve cardinals followed his example. Napoleon was furious at this open defiance of his wishes. The next day he dismissed the refractory cardinals from a public reception, deprived them of their property and emoluments, and forbade them to wear the insignia of their office. Hence, these thirteen are referred to as "the black cardinals," * in contradistinction to the "red cardinals" who supported the Emperor. A little later they were arrested and scattered through different cities of France. Consalvi was sent to Rheims, where he devoted himself to the composition of his *Memoirs*.

All this time Pius VII. was living quietly in a poorly furnished set of rooms in the bishop's house at Savona. None of the cardinals or ecclesiastics in whom he had confidence were allowed to see him. Even his letters were opened and read by a French official before being delivered. Some bishoprics soon became vacant, and, according to the concordat, canonical institution was required from the Pope. But Pius VII. refused (26th Aug., 1809) to concede canonical institution to those nominated; and in spite of all the threats and harsh treatment of Napoleon nothing could induce him to depart from this attitude. Nor were the emissaries of Napoleon more successful in their attempts to secure his abdication

* Grandmaison, *Napoléon et les Cardinaux Noirs*, 1895.

of the sovereignty of the Papal States. Though his few faithful servants were sent away, his desks rifled by officials, his household expenses cut down to about two shillings a head, his Papal ring seized, the Pope still calmly interposed a decided negative to all the proposals of the Emperor. Cardinal Maury was appointed by Napoleon to the vacant archbishopric of Paris, but the Pope reproved the former sharply for his acceptance, and declared null and void all his exercise of jurisdiction. Cardinal Maury suggested as a way out of the dilemma the appointment of the nominees of the Emperor as vicars capitular of the vacant dioceses till a settlement could be arrived at, but the Pope promptly issued three briefs strongly condemning such a procedure.

Napoleon appointed (1809) a commission of seven ecclesiastics, the most prominent of whom were Cardinals Fesch and Maury, together with Abbé Émery,* superior of Saint Sulpice. The best method of filling the vacant bishoprics was the main subject of their discussions. They suggested that a clause should be added to the concordat by which the Pope should bind himself to grant the canonical institution within a certain fixed time to the candidates nominated by the Emperor, but it was well known that the Pope would never consent to such a clause. The Abbé Émery was the only member of the commission who insisted strongly that peace must be made with the Pope, and strange to say he was the only man for whom the Emperor had the slightest respect. Finally, it was decided to convene a national council in June, 1811. Hoping that the Pope might be alarmed by such a step, Napoleon despatched a deputation of bishops to Savona to secure concessions from Pius VII. The latter bluntly refused to abdicate or to accept any change in the concordat, but in the end, owing to the pressure of the prefect and bishops, his own weak state of health, and the complete absence of his counsellors, he consented that an appendix should be added to the concordat, providing that the Pope should

* Méric, *Hist. de M. Émery, &c.*, Paris, 1885.

be bound to give canonical institution within six months after the appointment, and in case he refused for any reason other than the unworthiness of the candidates, the metropolitan or senior bishop could supply the deficiency (19th May, 1811). The Pope refused, however, to attach his signature to the document, as it was, he insisted, rather an expression of his views than a definite treaty.

The Council * opened in the Church of Notre Dame (17th June, 1811). Cardinal Fesch presided, and there were in attendance ninety French bishops, forty-two Italians, and a few from the added German provinces. The opening speech of the bishop of Troyes in praise of the Pope, and the oath of fidelity taken by all the bishops immediately after, were not calculated to reassure the Emperor. Though he insisted on the presence of his own Minister of Public Worship at the Council, and threatened all kinds of penalties in case the bishops refused to meet his wishes, yet, when the form of reply to the imperial message was being discussed at the Council, Kaspar Maximilian, Coadjutor Bishop of Münster, proposed that they should insert in it a request for the liberation of the Pope, and this proposal was warmly supported. The bishops manfully refused to accept the draft of a reply prepared by the advisers of the Emperor, and Napoleon as steadfastly rejected their alterations. The concessions extracted from the Pope were then laid before the Council with a request that the bishops should confirm this agreement, but the absence of the Pope's signature, and the suspicion that his consent had been forced, determined the majority of the Council to reject the proposal. Napoleon promptly closed the Council (11th July, 1811), and ordered the arrest of three bishops who had prominently opposed his wishes.

Steps were then taken to secure a more compliant body. Many of the independent bishops left Paris immediately, but the more pliant members were re-

* Ricard, *Le Concile National de 1811*, Paris, 1894.

quested to remain. The Minister of Public Worship had a personal interview with each of these, and by threats and promises secured a promise from them to accept the Emperor's proposal. Then the Council was re-assembled (80 bishops), and it was carried that in case the Pope refused to grant canonical institution within six months the metropolitan or senior bishop of the province might confer it. A deputation was appointed to secure the approval of the Pope, and Pius VII., surrounded by imperial ecclesiastics who undertook to satisfy all his scruples, at last published in his own name a decree confirming the decision of the Council (22nd Nov., 1811). This Papal brief did not satisfy Napoleon, for the Pope instead of simply ratifying the decree authorised in his own name the metropolitan to confer canonical institution. He resolved, however, to delay the arrangement of this and much more till he should have returned from his Russian campaign.

The refusal of the Emperor Alexander (1810) to continue the continental blockade against England led to a declaration of war between France and Russia (1812). Napoleon made up his mind to assemble an immense army, march through Prussia, carry the war into the enemy's country, and put an end for ever to his eastern rival. He set out from Paris (9th May, 1812) at the head of an army of 450,000 men, and marched straight for Moscow, the capital of the Russian Empire. The first encounter with the opposing forces took place at Borodino (7th Sept.), and the Russians, though dislodged from their position after terrific slaughter, retired in good order towards Moscow. They did not, however, attempt to defend the capital, as Napoleon expected, but retreated further east, taking with them the stores and valuable property, and most of the citizens except the very lowest class fled. When the French arrived they found the city deserted, and to make their position still worse, fires broke out in different points during the night, and soon the whole city was in flames. Napoleon still hoped for some offer of peace on the part of Alexander,

but in vain; and as the winter was approaching, and the French lines of communication were threatened, nothing remained except to issue the order for retreat. The march began on the 15th October. The winter was a severe one even for that climate, and the Russians hung on the rear, cutting off the foraging parties and disputing the passage at all points of special difficulty. Finally, on the 13th December, about one-fourth of the great army of invasion crossed the Niemen, and the Russian pursuit ended.

Napoleon hastened to Paris and raised a new army to attack the Russians, who were joined by William III. of Prussia. Austria, too, after some preliminary negotiations, declared war against France. On the 16th October, 1813, began the battle of Leipzig between Napoleon and the allied forces. Napoleon was completely outnumbered, and having received a severe defeat he fell back towards France, and in a few days all his conquests beyond the Rhine were lost. To make his position worse, the English, under the leadership of Wellesley, were pressing Joseph Bonaparte hard in Spain, so that instead of being able to despatch his troops to the assistance of the Emperor against the Allies, he rather required additional forces himself.

Napoleon raised a fresh army, and now (Jan., 1814), with the allied forces in France and the English and Spaniards victorious in the Peninsula, he well realised that the issue was doubtful. Calling together the officers of the National Guard, he committed to their charge the young king of Rome, and, having appointed his wife Maria Louisa as regent, he set out from Paris to meet his fate. For weeks he held the Allies in check by a series of brilliant manœuvres, but in his anxiety to force their retreat by threatening their communications he got in the rear of their forces and left the road to Paris undefended. They hastened towards Paris without delay, leaving only a small rear guard to deceive Napoleon. When he discovered their plans he advanced with marvellous rapidity to defend the capital, but the

Allies were three clear days ahead, and when he arrived within ten miles of the capital he met one of his own generals who bore the news that the struggle was over, and Paris in the hands of the foreigner. He fell back on Fontainebleau, and even still the army would have followed him to an attack on Paris, had his marshals not declined to engage in such an insane enterprise. After some preliminary interchanges, Napoleon was obliged to abdicate for himself and his heirs the thrones of France and Italy. He was to retain the title of emperor, the sovereignty of the island of Elba, whither he was to retire, and a pension of two million francs (11th April, 1814). A few days later peace was made in the South of France between Marshal Soult and Wellesley, who, having driven the French out of Spain and Portugal, had crossed the Pyrenees and invaded France.

Napoleon had made up his mind starting on the Russian expedition that on his return from Russia he would put an end to the Pope's resistance and assert his supremacy in spirituals as well as in temporals. For this reason, in order to have the Pope completely in his power, he dictated an order from Dresden that Pius VII. should be brought a prisoner to Fontainebleau. The ostensible reason given for the transfer was that the English had planned to rescue the Pope from Savona. At Fontainebleau (16th June, 1812), nobody was allowed to see the distinguished prisoner except the "red cardinals" or other ecclesiastics equally favourable to the imperial wishes. When Napoleon returned to Paris in December, after the overwhelming defeat in Russia, he recognised that a reconciliation with the Pope was a useful, if not a necessary, policy. New Year's greetings were exchanged between Pope and Emperor, and on the 18th January, 1813, Napoleon presented himself, to the astonishment of everybody, to the Pope at Fontainebleau.

About the interviews which took place between Pope and Emperor very little definite information can ever be

known. Certain it is that the Pope found himself, aged and suffering as he was, without advice or assistance, pitted against the Emperor and the court ecclesiastics ready to support the Emperor's demands by precedent or theology. What wonder, then, if in these circumstances he was betrayed into concessions, which if ratified would have been a betrayal of the Church? This agreement, known as the *Concordat of Fontainebleau*, was signed on the 25th January,* and by order of Napoleon the Te Deum was sung in all the churches, and the tidings of the reconciliation between Church and State travelled through France and Italy.

According to the terms of the document, which was represented to Pius VII. as only the preliminaries to a concordat, the Pope was to continue to exercise his authority in the imperial territory as his predecessors had done, and the representatives of foreign powers at the Papal Court were to enjoy the usual privilege of immunity. The Pope gave up his claims to the Papal territory that had been already appropriated in return for an annual revenue of two million francs; while with regard to the canonical institution of the bishops it was provided that if the Pope did not concede this within six months after the nomination, it might be conceded by the metropolitan or senior bishop of the province. The six suburban sees were to be re-established, and to these the Pope might nominate. The congregations were to be reconstituted, and the cardinals, bishops and ecclesiastics who had fallen under the displeasure of the Emperor during his disputes with the Pope were to be restored again to favour. As soon as the signature of the Pope had been secured an order was given for the recall of the exiled cardinals. When the "black cardinals" arrived at Fontainebleau the condition of Pius VII. was pitiable in the extreme. They found him in deep melancholy, touched with the bitterest remorse for what in a moment of weakness he had done, and refusing to be consoled. The agreement was immediately submitted to the cardinals for discussion. Consalvi, Pacca,

* Promulgated in the *Moniteur*, 13th Feb., 1813.

and Di Pietro declared that the concessions were impossible and should be recalled by the Pope. This view did not find favour with the imperial members of the sacred college, but in the end it triumphed, and Pius VII. set about preparing his letter to the Emperor. It was finished and despatched on the 24th March, much to the relief of the Pope, but the cardinals hourly awaited some dreadful outburst of Napoleon's wrath.

The circumstances of France, however, required moderation. He ordered the Minister of Public Worship to keep the Pope's letter a secret, the bishops were to be sent to their dioceses, and the concordat was to remain the law of France. The Pope, however, issued a brief in May, 1813, declaring all the recently appointed bishops unlawful and schismatical, and their exercise of jurisdiction null and void. As the circle of enemies steadily closed around Napoleon various attempts were made to patch up peace with the Pope. A partial restoration of the Papal States was offered by the bishop of Plaisance, but the Pope refused to carry on further negotiations till he had been allowed to return to Rome. Finally, on the 22nd January, 1814, as the Allies were getting ready for their advance on Paris, a colonel presented himself with the order that the Pope was to start immediately for Savona. On his arrival at Savona he was treated with due respect by the officials, and on the 17th March the prefect informed him that he was free. Two days later he set out on his return to Rome. The journey to Rome was a veritable triumphal march. The people crowded to catch a glimpse of the venerable pontiff who had so bravely withstood the threats of Napoleon. He was enthusiastically welcomed by the people, and received the respectful homage of Charles IV. of Spain, Charles Emmanuel of Sardinia, and Maria Louisa, Queen of Etruria.

Meanwhile, a decree of the Senate recalling the Bourbon family, was passed in April, 1814, and Louis XVIII. set out from his residence in Buckinghamshire on the very day that Napoleon left Fontainebleau.

He arrived in his capital on the 3rd May, and proceeded straight to the Church of Notre Dame. The Royalists gave him a warm welcome, but the silence of the masses should have been a warning to the new ruler. A treaty with the Allies was formally concluded on the 30th May, by which France was, practically speaking, reduced to her boundaries of January, 1792. A Congress of the powers was arranged to meet at Vienna to arrange all outstanding difficulties. Louis XVIII. proclaimed a constitution according to which there should be two chambers—peers and deputies; taxes should be imposed only with the consent of the representatives, ministerial responsibility was recognised, and Frenchmen were equally eligible for all offices of state. The Catholic religion was recognised as the state religion of the nation, but all other forms of Christianity were tolerated and their ministers guaranteed state support.

The Congress of the powers opened at Vienna, 20th September, 1814. The assembly was a remarkable one, not only on account of the issues at stake and the presence of the Emperors of Austria and Russia, together with the Kings of Prussia, Denmark, Bavaria, and Würtemberg, but also because the leading statesmen of Europe were present to safeguard the interests of their different countries. Consalvi appeared as the deputy of the Pope, France was represented by Talleyrand, Austria by Count Metternich, and England by Castlereagh and the Duke of Wellington. Even in such a distinguished assembly the Papal ambassador occupied no secondary place.*

The members of the Congress were well disposed towards Pius VII. They recognised that though he had suffered most he had issued from the conflict with a cleaner record than did most of the sovereigns of Europe. Besides, they began to realise that government without religion was an impossibility, and that, therefore, in defence of monarchy they must put forward the motto—religion, law, and king—against the republican formula

* Goyau, *Consalvi au Congrès de Vienne* (*Revue de Deux-Mondes*, Sept., 1906).

—liberty, equality, and fraternity. Hence, the claims put forward by Consalvi for the restoration of the Papal States were not received unfavourably; but while the powers were wrangling over the fate of Poland and Saxony, the news arrived (7th March, 1815) that Napoleon had escaped from Elba, and was already on the march to Paris.

He embarked from Elba on the 26th February with about one thousand men. The troops sent to oppose him on his arrival in France gladly joined his standard. When it became known that Marshal Ney had thrown in his lot with his old general, Louis XVIII. fled from Paris and took up his residence at Ghent. Napoleon entered Paris on the 20th March amidst scenes of the wildest enthusiasm. He raised an army of 150,000 men, and resolved to cross into Belgium and destroy the English and Prussian forces before the other Allies could come to their assistance. In Belgium his plans for preventing a junction of the English and Prussian forces proved a failure, and at Waterloo he suffered a complete defeat at the hands of Wellington and Blücher (18th June, 1815). Napoleon was the first to arrive in Paris with the authentic tidings of the defeat. Having learned that the Chambers were bitterly hostile, he abdicated in favour of his son, and retired towards the sea-coast, probably in the hope of escaping to America. This was impossible owing to the presence of English cruisers, and at last he resolved, like Themistocles, to throw himself on the generosity of the English people. He went on board the battleship *Bellerophon*, but on his arrival at Torbay he was not permitted to land, and in a few days the decision was announced to him that he was destined to spend the remainder of his life on the island of St. Helena. There he died on the 5th May, 1821.

Pius VII., in spite of all that he had suffered at the hands of Napoleon, did not forget him in the days of his adversity. In spite of the protests of the powers the mother and the other relatives of Napoleon found an asylum in the Papal territory. When the Pope learned,

through Cardinal Fesch, that the confinement in St. Helena was injurious to the health of the distinguished prisoner, he instructed his Secretary of State to plead with the powers for milder treatment. Finally, he sent the Abbé Vignali to look after the spiritual interests of Napoleon, and it was consoling to the Pope to learn that, in spite of everything, Napoleon was enabled to declare in his will that he died in the bosom of the apostolic and Roman Church.

The news of the escape from Elba and return to Paris caused considerable excitement in Rome. Murat, King of Naples, asked the Pope for permission to march through the Papal States to the relief of Napoleon, but the request was refused. Pius VII., fearing an attack from Naples, left Rome and took up his residence at Genoa, where he was under the protection of the English fleet. Napoleon sent a gracious message requesting his return, but no notice was taken of this communication. Later on, when Murat had been defeated by the Austrians, Pius VII. returned to Rome (7th June, 1815).

Meanwhile, Consalvi had been playing a careful game at the Congress of Vienna. In several energetically worded notes to the powers he insisted on the claims of the Holy See for a complete restoration of the Papal States, and he reminded England and Russia that the Pope had lost his territories because he refused to break with the enemies of France. He demanded, too, the restoration of the property lost to the Church through the secularisation policy in Germany; and expressed a wish for the re-establishment of the Holy Roman Empire. In opposition to the wishes of Metternich, Consalvi induced the Congress to restore the Papal States, including the Legations, Ravenna, Bologna and Ferrara, almost in their entirety. His success astonished the leading men at the Congress, but, unmindful of their congratulations, he lodged a solemn protest against the concession of a small portion of the Papal States awarded by the Congress to Austria.

Louis XVIII. returned to Paris (8th July, 1815), surrounded by foreign battalions. The French capital was treated by the allied forces as a conquered city, and it was only after most humiliating concessions in money and territory that France could secure their withdrawal. The Chambers were decidedly conservative, and voted for the severe punishment of those who supported Napoleon on his return. Amongst those who suffered were General Ney, who was arrested and shot, and Murat, who was tried and condemned to death in Naples.

(e) THE RESTORATION (1814-1830)

Villemain, *L'Histoire de la Restauration*, Paris, 1860-68. Baunard, *Un siècle de l'Église de France (1800-1900)*, 1900. Bourgain, *L'Église de France et l'État au XIX^e siècle*, 2 vols, Paris, 1904. Debidour, *Histoire des rapports de l'Église et de l'État en France de 1789 à 1870*, Paris, 1898. Artaud, *Histoire de Pie VII.* (1833), *de Léon XII.* (1843), *et de Pie VIII.* (1849).

The Restoration undoubtedly produced many changes beneficial to the Church. Louis XVIII., though certainly not a zealous Catholic himself, hastened to suppress the Napoleonic festivals and catechism, to restore the Papal archives that had been transferred from Rome to Paris, to dispense the ecclesiastical students from attendance at the lycées; to permit the bishops to open free colleges, and to allow the re-establishment of the Lazarists, the Sulpicians, and the Holy Ghost Fathers. Some of the clergy were offered and accepted very high places in the government.

But Louis XVIII. was determined to wipe out all trace of Napoleon's interference in Church affairs; and, hence, he refused to recognise the concordat of 1801. He wished rather to return to the old arrangement concluded between Francis I. and Leo X.; and, on the other hand, Rome was desirous of securing a repeal of the Organic Articles. A new concordat was agreed to in September, 1816, but for several reasons Rome withdrew its consent; a second attempt, little favourable to the

Church, was made in 1817;* but as the Pope had expressed his dissatisfaction, the Chamber rejected it. Finally, it was agreed that the concordat of 1801 should remain in force, and that thirty new dioceses should be created to meet the wants of the faithful. The necessary expenses of these erections were voted in May, 1821, and carried into effect during the next year. The Restoration Government showed in ecclesiastical as well as secular matters a want of decision and of a definite policy. On the one hand, it maintained the Catholic religion as the state religion, suppressed the law of divorce (1816), forbade all attacks on religion (1822), permitted ecclesiastical institutions to receive legacies or donations, broke up the monopoly of the Paris University, declared religion as the basis of education (1821), established a Commission of Public Instruction, accorded the bishops a voice in the control of the University (1821), gave them in great measure the control of the primary schools, and allowed them to open free secondary schools. On the other, it steadily refused to abrogate the Organic Articles, insisted on the seminary professors teaching the four Gallican Articles, limited the number of the students to be received in the seminaries, and suppressed the Society of Jesus.

The main policy of the Restoration Government was to keep the clergy in hand by small concessions, but at the same time to withhold all real liberty from the Church.

The truth is that Gallicanism was specially strong in France during the Restoration period. Many of the clergy, especially the higher clergy, and the bishops were open supporters of the Gallican doctrines, and were always at hand to support the government in their restrictions upon ecclesiastical administration. Mgr. Frayssinous, the author of *Les Vrais Principes de L'Église Gallicane* (1818), and the opponent of Lamennais, was the ablest representative of the party. The cause of the Church was well pleaded by such writers as Chateaubriand and De Maistre, but especially by the

* Feret, *Le Concordat de, 1817* (*Revue des Quest. Hist.*, Jan., 1902).

latter, who was a pronounced enemy of Gallicanism, and whose work, *Du Pape* (1819) had such a decided influence on religious thought in France during the nineteenth century.

Charles X. (1824-1830) was personally a religious ruler, and, in imitation of his great predecessors, had himself crowned with full ceremony in the old Cathedral of Rheims (29th May, 1825). He published a law against sacrilege and another for the repression of infidel or revolutionary publications (1826). But he wanted the decision of character and foresight required to carry out his policy in face of the bitter opposition that was soon aroused. The followers of the old school of Voltaire and Rousseau displayed an alarming activity in issuing cheap editions of the leading pre-revolution literature, in winning over to their assistance the students of the university, and in declaring war against the ecclesiastical congregations. The ultra-royalist party, instead of being a source of strength, was only a cause of embarrassment to the king.

In 1827, owing to an alliance between the ultra-royalists and the liberals, M. Martignac was called to form a government. He was of the moderate Liberal party, and in accordance with its programme an ordinance was published in 1828, commanding the Jesuits to retire from their educational establishments, and enjoining on their successors in these a declaration that they did not belong to any non-authorised congregation.* By another law the total number of seminarists in France was fixed at 20,000; no extern students were to be received in such establishments, the boarders were to wear the ecclesiastical dress, and a course of two years at a university establishment was prescribed for those who wished to secure degrees in arts or philosophy. The object of these measures—namely, to take away the secondary education from the hands of ecclesiastics—was well understood by the bishops, and met with their uncompromising resistance. Charles X. dismissed Martignac, and called upon Prince Polignac (1829) to form a

* Feret, *Les Ordonnances de 1828* (*Rev. de Quest. Hist.*, April, 1904).

new cabinet. The selection of such an ardent admirer of the *Ancien Régime* was a distinct challenge to men of liberal tendencies.

The Chamber, by a large majority, passed a vote of want of confidence in the new ministry, and the king having appealed to the country, the opposition secured the return of all their old members, and many new ones in addition. The king did not flinch from the contest. In virtue of the 14th clause of the charter authorising the ruler to make regulations necessary for the safety of the state he published (26th July, 1830) the celebrated five ordinances by which he dissolved the Chamber, introduced a new plan of election, convoked the new Chamber to meet in September, placed restrictions on the press, and appointed some of the extreme royalists to the Council of State. These decrees stirred up the enemies of Charles X. to undertake a revolution. A small group of determined republicans in Paris, and the royalist supporters of the Duke of Orleans united; the soldiers were unprepared or deserted, and soon Paris was lost to Charles X. The Duke of Orleans was summoned and consented to adopt the charter and the tricolour. He was named Lieutenant-General of the Realm (30th July). Charles X. retired to Rambouillet, and tried to meet the storm by offering to withdraw the ordinances, and even to resign in favour of his grandson, leaving the Duke of Orleans as regent, but the Chamber declared the throne vacant, and appointed Louis Philippe king of France (7th August, 1830).

(f) THE MONARCHY OF JULY

In addition to the works cited above, consult :—Thureau-Dangin, *Hist. de la Monarchie de Juillet*, 2^e ed., Paris, 1892. Crétineau Joly, *Hist. de Louis Philippe, &c.*, Paris, 1862-63. Spuller, *Lamennais*, Paris, 1902. Mercier, *Lamennais d'après sa correspondance*, Paris, 1895. Lecanuet, *Montalembert*, 2^e éd., 3 vols., Paris, 1900-2.

The Revolution of 1830 was marked by the same anti-religious tendency as had characterised that of 1789.

The explanation of this fact lies in the close alliance between the Bourbons and the strong Gallican party, which ever since the Restoration had been carefully fostered in the Church of France. In the charter of 1830 the Catholic religion was designated the religion of the majority, not the state religion of France; the clergy could not show themselves in the streets without being insulted by the mob; the church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, and the palace of the archbishop were sacked; the church of St. Geneviève was seized and converted into the Pantheon; the state assistance given for the education of the younger clerical students was withdrawn; the number of ecclesiastical holidays was reduced to four; and the nuncio having quitted Paris during the Revolution it was declared that there should be no longer a nuncio, but that the Pope should conduct his business in Paris through a simple *Chargé d'Affaires*.

This open attack on the Catholic Church was decidedly more beneficial to the progress of religion than had been the friendly, yet strangling, policy of the Restoration Government. It roused the Catholics to form a party in self-defence and to throw themselves boldly into the public life of the country; and, at the same time, it forced this party to look entirely to Rome for support. Now that the king and those in power at Paris were unfriendly the Catholics of France must necessarily look elsewhere for support, and naturally they turned to the centre of the Catholic world, the See of Peter. The Revolution, therefore, of 1830, though hostile to the Church rendered a great service in bringing about a union of the Catholics amongst themselves in their own defence, and in purifying their ranks of nearly all traces of the Gallican policy of the Restoration period.

The principal leaders in this great religious revival were Lamennais, Lacordaire, Montalembert, Gerbet and Rohrbacher. Of these the best known and the most advanced was the Abbé de Lamennais. These men recognised in the Revolution of 1830 the triumph of an

anti-religious Liberalism, and they asked themselves why should Liberalism be allowed to remain anti-Catholic? Why should the Church not cut herself adrift from royalty, and freeing herself from the shackles of state control, place herself at the head of the democratic movement that was likely to be the power of the future? To support this programme they decided to found the paper, *L'Avenir* (16th Oct., 1830), and to emphasise their opposition to the infidel Liberalism of the day they selected as their motto, "God and Liberty."

They recognised that the union of Gallicanism and absolutism had been the cause of the popular hatred of the Church. Hence, their attacks were directed equally against both. They proclaimed themselves at once ultramontanes and democrats. They demanded complete liberty for the Church, and the only way of securing that liberty, according to them, was by a complete separation of Church and State. They insisted that there should be absolute liberty of conscience and of the press, that universal suffrage was a sacred right that could not be denied, that the Second Chamber should be suppressed, and the whole legislative power vested in the hands of the people, and that if the government did not meet the wishes of the masses, then the masses should overthrow the government. The intentions of the party were good, but their policy was imprudent, their demands exaggerated, and their language immoderate. They denounced the concordat as a betrayal of the Church, they attacked the clergy for consenting to be the paid officials of the state; they directed their bitterest sarcasms against the bishops for their attachment to Gallicanism and royalty; they held up to ridicule the clerical education of the seminaries, and at the same time roused the violent opposition of the University by their well-directed onslaughts. All this would have been enough to stir up bitter enmities, but when, besides, it is remembered that their leader, de Lamennais, had been already under suspicion on

account of the philosophic theories advanced in the *Essai sur l'Indifférence en matière de religion*, it is intelligible that the new paper should arouse the attention and anxiety of the ecclesiastical authorities.

Lamennais and Lacordaire were brought into court (31st January, 1831) for their articles against the government. They made a brilliant defence, Lacordaire, as a lawyer, being allowed to conduct his own case, and they were acquitted. But many of the bishops, roused by the sneering charges of Gallicanism directed against them, and by the disorder that broke out in the seminaries amongst both students and professors, condemned *L'Avenir*, and forbade their clergy to contribute to it, or even to read it. The three principally responsible for the policy of the journal, Lamennais, Lacordaire and Montalembert resolved to put an end to the open and secret rumours of their unorthodoxy by obtaining for their policy the approbation of Rome. In November, 1831, they announced that the publication of *L'Avenir* would be suspended for a time, and that its editors, as "Pilgrims of God and of Liberty," were about to start for Rome to consult the Holy Father, as once upon a time the soldiers of Israel journeyed to Silo to consult the Lord.

This appeal to Rome, suggested by Lacordaire, and accepted by his colleagues, was very ill-advised. To approve a paper that had made such bitter attacks upon the ecclesiastical and civil authorities in France, and that had been censured by a large body of the French episcopate, was impossible, while, on the other hand, it was hard for Gregory XVI. to condemn men who had done so much to weaken the influence of Gallicanism, and to support the claims of the Holy See. Hence, the Pope received them kindly, but in answer to their demand for a definite decision Cardinal Pacca suggested that they should return quietly to France. Lacordaire understood the motive of this suggestion, and begged his companions to leave Rome, but Lamennais refused to return till a final judgment should be given.

Lacordaire started for Paris, but Lamennais and Montalembert remained in Rome for four months, till, at last, wearied by the delay they left for Germany, Lamennais having declared his resolve to return to France, and continue the paper and the policy. All three met at Munich, where, during the course of a banquet organised in their honour, the Encyclical, *Mirari Vos*, was handed to Lamennais (15th Aug., 1832).* Out of respect for their feelings Gregory XVI. did not mention their names, but at the same time, while sharply reproving the doctrine of their Gallican opponents, he condemned many of the principles and methods of *L'Avenir*. The three editors immediately published a joint note declaring their unqualified submission to the decision of the Holy Father, and their resolve to abandon the further publication of their journal; but Lamennais retired to his retreat at La Chesnaye in deep disgust, where, in spite of the kindness of his bishop and a sympathetic letter from the Pope, he still strongly adhered to his own views. Lacordaire and Montalembert saw clearly that they must make their selection between the church and their old master; and with sorrowful hearts they bade farewell to Lamennais and La Chesnaye. The publication of the *Paroles d'un Croyant* (1834) and of *Les Affaires de Rome* (1837) showed that Lamennais had definitely broken with the Church, and the breach thus made became wider and wider as the years rolled on, till at last, in spite of the touching appeals of his brother, his relatives, and of Archbishop Sibour of Paris, he died in 1854 refusing all reconciliation with the Church.

The condemnation of *L'Avenir* and the apostasy of Lamennais, though a sore trial to the Catholic party, did not discourage them from further effort. Their aim now was to close up their ranks, to detach themselves from the pursuit of impossibilities, and, with the sanction of their lawful ecclesiastical superiors, to direct their efforts to a renewal of the religious life amongst the

* *Bullarium Romanum* XIX., p. 126.

masses of the people, and a redress of their pressing grievances, especially in the matter of education.

With this object in view, a body of young men in Paris, under the leadership of Ozanam,* established the Society of St. Vincent de Paul for the relief and religious instruction of the poor (1833). The success of this establishment exceeded all expectation. By means of its conferences and visits to the homes of the poor, thousands of the lower classes in Paris, to whom religion was almost unknown, were brought back again to the Church. From Paris, where, in 1853, it had already founded 2,000 branches, the society spread through France, and from France through the whole Catholic world. According to the report of 1900, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul had a membership of 100,000, and distributed annually in alms for the support of the poor and for education about £800,000. The same men who established the Society of St. Vincent de Paul succeeded in inducing the archbishop of Paris to establish a course of apologetic conferences at Notre Dame, and to entrust it to the distinguished Dominican preacher, Lacordaire. The result of these brilliant sermons, especially among the educated classes, more than justified the hopes of the organisers.

But it was the educational grievances that supplied the proper programme to unite the Catholic party. Napoleon, in his efforts to secure complete centralisation, had given the University of Paris a monopoly of education, and had placed all educational establishments under the control of the university authorities. This policy was maintained after the Restoration, though Charles X. had rendered it less odious to the Catholics by giving the bishops a voice in the government of the University. Still a great many people in France resisted the monopoly, and in the charter of 1830 a clause was inserted granting liberty of education. The Catholics took their stand on this article of the constitution and demanded that it should be put into opera-

* O'Meara, *Frederic Ozanam: His Life and Labours*, London, 1879.

tion. Montalembert was the leading spirit of the movement. In conjunction with Lacordaire and Charles de Coux, the eminent economist, he opened (9th May, 1831) a primary school in Paris in defiance of the law. The three teachers were promptly summoned to appear before the courts, and, as Montalembert was a peer of France, the trial was carried on before the Chamber of peers. The speeches of Montalembert and Lacordaire in their defence created a profound sensation, and though a small fine was inflicted, the accused had succeeded in directing public attention to the Catholic grievances. Guizot appointed a Commission to examine the question of Primary Education in France, and the report brought to light such a lamentable state of affairs that a law was introduced and passed (1833), establishing for the first time a state Primary School System in France. This law dealt generously with the Catholic schools, allowed the same privileges to the ecclesiastical as to the secular teachers, and recognised the testimonial of their superiors as equivalent to the academic diploma otherwise required.

The war, however, was still waged round the secondary schools. Guizot tried to effect a settlement of the question in 1836, but his efforts met with no success. From 1841 the struggle between the opponents and friends of the University monopoly was waged with extreme bitterness. The bishops of France, casting aside the old self-effacement policy of the Restoration, threw themselves into the fight, and in 1842 fifty-six of them denounced the philosophic education of the French lycées. Several of the bishops and abbés were cited before the courts for their attacks on the University, but each new trial only added strength to the Catholic demand.

In 1843, Montalembert published the pamphlet, *Le devoir des Catholiques dans la question de la liberté d'enseignement*, which, supported by the bishops, had a great influence in France; and in the next year a league was formed for the defence of religious liberty. The

party required a newspaper to ventilate their views, and fortunately the paper and the editor were at hand to second their efforts. *L'Univers* had been founded in 1833 by the Abbé Migne, one of the old band of *L'Avenir*, but its success was insignificant till 1843, when it was placed under the editorship of Louis Veuillot, one of the most influential Catholic journalists of the nineteenth century. The Catholics based their attacks on the University monopoly on the three great principles, the guarantee of the charter (1831), the idea of true liberty, and the rights of the parent. Meanwhile, the friends of the University were not idle. Cousin, Michelet, Quinet, Génin and Libri upheld the position of the University. In their courses at the Collège de France or in the newspapers devoted to their cause they replied to their opponents and directed the bitterest attacks against the Jesuits. They did not disdain to accept the help of the novelist Eugene Sue and his scandalous work, *Le Juif Errant*. Several proposals were made during the years 1846 and 1847, but for one reason or another they did not become law. Still the Catholics were not discouraged. They had now become a strong and united party. In the elections of 1846 they secured the return of 146 deputies pledged to support their educational programme, and they organised monster petitions to the government from all parts of France.

Meanwhile, the home and foreign policy of the government had aroused almost universal opposition. Louis Philippe depended entirely for support upon the *bourgeoisie*, who were resolved that no further concessions should be made to the masses. The first minister, M. Guizot, resisted every demand for electoral reform. In 1847 all the opponents of the government united against the ministry of M. Guizot. The men who desired only electoral reform joined hands with the republicans and revolutionaries to bring about a crisis. The foreign policy of the government, especially in its relations with England, was sharply criticised as a betrayal of

national interests, while the bad harvest and the prevalent commercial depression produced much distress and unrest.

The Chambers met on the 28th December, 1847. In reply to the demands of the opposition for reform M. Guizot bluntly refused all concessions. To rouse the country the opposition undertook to organise great reform banquets in the large cities of France. One of these was to be held in Paris, but it was prohibited by the government. The rumour spread that the banquet had been abandoned, but on the morning of the day on which it was to have been held (22nd Feb., 1848) the mobs of Paris began to assemble, and attacked the municipal guard. The next day the National Guard joined the rioters, and the soldiers held themselves inactive. M. Guizot offered his resignation, and it was accepted. This step, however, did not satisfy the people. In a scuffle with the soldiers on the evening of the 23rd February several people were shot. Their dead bodies were brought in procession through the streets, and the masses, maddened by the spectacle, flew to arms.

Louis Philippe, now thoroughly frightened, called M. Thiers, in conjunction with M. Odillon-Barrot, two leaders of the Opposition, to form a ministry. They issued a proclamation on the night of the 24th February, announcing their appointment, and the withdrawal of the military from Paris. But it was too late. The soldiers surrendered their arms to the insurgents, and the king, recognising that all was lost, abdicated the throne in favour of his grandson, and fled to St. Cloud.

The Chamber of Deputies met, and, having rejected the motion in favour of the regency of the Duchess of Orleans, appointed a provisional government. The Republic was formally proclaimed. The king with difficulty made his escape from France, and took up his residence in England, where he died in 1850 at the age of seventy-seven. The revolution in France was but the herald of the revolution in Europe, and marked the

beginning of a new period in the history of the nineteenth century.

The reign of Louis Philippe was on the whole a period of religious revival in France. The concordat was accepted, and the new bishoprics established by Louis XVIII. were recognised. The public life of France assumed a more Catholic tone, and many men, not burthened with dogmatic religion themselves, were anxious to secure the assistance of religion in the preservation of public peace. In its relations with the Pope and the religious orders the government showed its anxiety to avoid all conflicts. The Benedictines established (1837) themselves at Solesmes under the abbacy of the renowned Dom Guéranger; Lacordaire brought back the Dominicans in 1841; the Jesuits who had been scattered in 1830 gradually came together and resumed their work, and were fortunate enough in their conflict with the University to have such an able advocate as Père Ravignan. The Trappists and Carthusians founded many new establishments, while the religious orders of men and women devoted to primary education, aided by the law of 1833, doubled the number of their pupils.

Besides, it is important to note that the French Church, which, during the Restoration had shown such a decided tendency towards Gallicanism,* took advantage of the rupture of 1830 to effect a closer union with Rome. It was only when Pius VIII. had recognised the government of Louis Philippe that the usual prayers for the king were permitted in the French churches. The founders of *L'Avenir* openly announced their complete opposition to the old Gallican views that had been the fruitful cause of such misfortune to the Church; the younger bishops, no longer under the influence of men like Frayssinous, ranged themselves on the side of Rome, as is evident from the fact that nearly all the members of the hierarchy supported De Bonald in his condemnation

* Bellamy, *La Théologie Catholique au XIX^e siècle*, Paris, 1904, pp. 21-25.

of Dupin's Canon Law (1845). In addition to this, when Dom Guéranger began his campaign against the peculiar liturgies of the different French dioceses, and urged the universal adoption of the Roman Liturgy,* his suggestion was followed by the majority of French bishops, and gradually the Roman Liturgy was accepted in all the dioceses of France.

* *Institutions Liturgiques*, 3 vols., Paris, 1839-51.

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CHAPTER II

THE CHURCH IN THE GERMAN STATES

(a) THE DISSOLUTION OF THE EMPIRE AND THE SECULARISATION POLICY

Hirsch, *Gebhardts Handbuch der Deutschen Geschichte*, 2 Bde., Stuttgart, 1890, Bd. II., 378-529. Seignobos, *L'Europe Contemporaine*, Paris, 1905, chapters XII-XIV. Brück-Kissling, *Geschichte der Kathol. Kirche im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, 5 Bde., Mayence—Münster, 1908. Schmid, *Geschichte der Kath. Kirche Deutschlands 1872-74*. Goyau, *L'Allemagne religieuse, Le Catholicisme, 1800-1848*, 2 vols., Paris, 1905. König, *Pius VII., Die Säkularisation und das Reichskonkordat*, Innsbruck, 1904.

THE Peace of Westphalia in 1648 may be said to have marked the end of the Holy Roman Empire. By this peace the principles upon which the Emperors had based their imperial title during the Middle Ages were abandoned in spite of the protests of Pope Innocent X., and the power of the Emperors even in German territory was so limited that outside their hereditary states they had practically little influence. The German Confederation still recognised the ruler of Austria as the head of the league, and the House of Habsburg still clung to the imperial title; but, in reality, the central government had no controlling voice, and the individual states were practically independent.

The two leading states of the German Confederation were Austria, representing the anti-Reformation party, and Prussia in the north the supporter of Lutheranism. Prussia, under the rule of Frederick the Great (1740-1786), acquired large extent of territories at the expense of her rival, and grew more powerful year by year,

while Austria, on the other hand, weakened by the wars of the reign of Maria Theresa (1740-80), and by the rebellions stirred up in the Netherlands and Hungary by the centralisation policy of Joseph II., was gradually on the wane.

When the French Revolution broke out both Austria and Prussia viewed the movement with alarm. The princes of the German territories beyond the Rhine, who had lost their rights by the abolition of feudalism in 1789, appealed to the Emperor for assistance, while the anti-monarchical turn which the movement in Paris soon assumed warned both Leopold II. of Austria and Frederick William II. of Prussia that unless some remedy were quickly applied the thrones of Europe were in serious danger. A meeting was arranged between the Emperor and the King of Prussia (1791), and a proclamation was issued announcing their resolve to intervene on behalf of Louis XVI. Before the war broke out Leopold II. died, but his successor, Francis II., continued his policy, and a definite alliance was concluded between Austria and Prussia.

In the wars that ensued Austria and Prussia were defeated. Austria lost the Netherland provinces together with the territories beyond the Rhine, and finally, in 1801, was obliged to conclude the humiliating peace of Lunéville. The provinces in the Netherlands were surrendered, the republics recognised, the German territory beyond the Rhine was abandoned to France, and the lay princes whose states had been surrendered were to be compensated from the church lands and from the free cities. This was the beginning of the secularisation of ecclesiastical property.

The policy of Prussia and of most of the minor states of Germany, in their relations to Napoleon, shows how completely the idea of a German nation seems to have been forgotten. The greed of the individual states, and their abandonment of all patriotic instinct in their anxiety to win the favour of Napoleon, and to profit by the humiliation of Austria cast a deep stain on the

history of the German states in the nineteenth century. Napoleon desired to have a power beyond the Rhine on which he could rely in his wars with Austria, and, shameful to relate, he found a number of the German princes anxious and ready to assist him. In 1806, the kings of Bavaria and Württemberg, the elector of Baden, the prince bishop of Regensburg, and the rulers of several smaller states, sixteen in all, came together and formed what is known as "The Confederation of the Rhine." They formally decreed their separation from the Empire, placed themselves under the protection of Napoleon, and agreed to aid him in his wars with an army of 63,000 men. The articles of Confederation were signed at Paris, 17th July, 1806, and on the 1st August Napoleon's ambassador at Regensburg announced to the Diet that the Confederation was recognised. Francis II. immediately (6th Aug.) published a declaration dissolving the Empire, released the states from their allegiance, and retired to his hereditary states with the title of Emperor of Austria. This step put an end to the existence of the Holy Roman Empire.

The Confederation of the Rhine and the king of Prussia played anything but a glorious part during the Napoleonic regime. It was only when the power of France had been broken in the Russian campaign that Frederick William II. summoned up sufficient courage to declare war. At the Congress of Vienna both Prussia and Austria received compensation for the territories that they had lost, and as a result both powers had nearly as extensive a boundary in 1815 as they had had in 1795. The compensations to the secular princes were made in a great measure from the lands of the Church.

This policy of compensating the secular princes by dividing among them the ecclesiastical territories constitutes what is known as the policy of Secularisation. By this policy the prince bishops who had played such a part in the Holy Roman Empire and German national affairs almost entirely disappeared. The ecclesiastical

territories of Trent, Brixen, Salzburg, Passau, Freising, Augsburg, Constance, Eichstätt, Bamberg, Würzburg, Fulda, Osnabrück, Paderborn, Hildesheim, Münster, Breslau, together with a great many abbatial demesnes and less important foundations were taken away from the spiritual princes and handed over to the lay rulers, who were in many cases Protestant, to compensate them for the losses of the war. By this act of secularisation the Catholic Church lost 1,719 square miles of territory with a population of three and a half millions, and producing an annual revenue of well over two million pounds. Consalvi protested against this injustice, but his protests were in vain.

The different states having been satisfied, the question about the nature of the Confederation required delicate handling. The re-establishment of the Empire was impossible. In June, 1815, the princes of Germany met and signed the Germanic Confederation (*Deutscher Bund*) for the maintenance of peace and the security of the different states. The Confederation was to be regulated by a permanent Council of the plenipotentiaries of the different states sitting at Frankfort, and of this Council the representative of Austria was to be the president. The number of votes accorded to the different states of the Confederation was regulated by their relative importance, and for any general law binding the confederate states absolute unanimity was required. The duty of this Council was to regulate the foreign and military affairs of the whole body as well as all serious questions of home policy affecting the Confederation; but in reality each individual state retained its sovereign independence, and maintained its own army, custom regulations, and diplomatic body. There was no federal court of appeal, and there were no federal representatives at the foreign courts. Each state regulated its own affairs, and the Frankfort Assembly had no real power.

In framing a new political organisation for the German States the position of the Church and the arrangements required by the political changes neces-

sarily demanded attention. In the territory of the Rhine Confederation in spite of the efforts of Dalberg, prince bishop of Regensburg, to induce Napoleon to extend the concordat to German territory, many of the dioceses were vacant, and, as in France, could not be filled. The property of the Church had been seized, except the revenues for the support of the parish priests, the schools, and the religious orders devoted to charity; the cathedral chapters deprived of their means of support were dying out; the seminaries were in the same condition, and the Holy Roman Empire having ceased to exist each state treated the Church as it wished, interfering in all questions of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

Cardinal Consalvi demanded at the Congress of Vienna the restoration of the territories of the prince bishops and abbots, as well as the restitution of the ecclesiastical property that had been secularised. The representative of the prince bishop of Regensburg, von Wessenberg, vicar capitular of Constance, strove hard to secure the foundation of a National German Church with a national primate who would direct the whole affairs of the Church, leaving to the Pope only a primacy of honour. This was the old theory of Febronius which still found many sympathisers even amongst the ecclesiastics of Germany. During the course of the discussion on the new Germanic confederation a clause was inserted in the constitution (14) guaranteeing the great religious parties equal constitutional rights, but the next article dealing with the new constitution to be given to the Catholic Church was omitted owing to the opposition of Bavaria and Würtemberg. Whether Cardinal Consalvi urged on the Bavarian delegate to resist the insertion of the clause is not clear, but, at any rate, it is certain that its retention could have done no good, and might possibly have been the cause of serious evil. Nor were the efforts made at the Assembly at Frankfort to arrive at some common settlement of ecclesiastical affairs more successful; and nothing now remained but for each individual ruler to open up negotiations with the

Holy See. Hence it is necessary to treat separately the different states forming the Germanic Confederation.

(b) AUSTRIA

In addition to the works cited above, consult :—Ritter, *Kaiser Joseph II. und seine Kirchlichen Reformen*, Ratisbon, 1869. Brunner, *Joseph II.*, Freiburg i. Br., 1869. Beidtel, *Untersuchungen über die Kirchlichen Zustände in den K. K. Österreichischen Staaten*, Vienna, 1849.

During the reign of Maria Theresa (1740-1780) the Silesian war and the Seven Years' War involved a constant drain on the resources of the country, while the cession of Silesia and Glatz to Prussia was a serious blow to Austria. Still the partition of Poland in 1772, and the concessions wrung from Turkey (1777) and Bavaria (1779) left Austria as powerful at the end of her reign as it had been at the beginning. Joseph II. (1780-1790) succeeded. He had been associated with his mother as regent from the death of his father in 1765, and though kept in check by the Empress and her ministers he had already shown that he was bent on imitating the policy and reforms of his great rival, Frederick the Great of Prussia. He reorganised the military and judicial system of the country, abolished most of the privileges of the nobles, rearranged the taxation, encouraged the establishment of manufacture by bringing in skilled artisans from foreign industrial centres, and reformed the whole educational system with the object of giving it a practical instead of a mere literary turn. He wished to unify his scattered territories by abolishing all natural differences and peculiar constitutions, and by subjecting the different states to one strong central government. The Latin and Hungarian languages were to be put aside in favour of German, which was to be henceforth the only recognised official language.

But it is the religious reforms undertaken by Joseph II. which have made his reign remarkable in ecclesiastical history, and which have given the name

Josephism in Germany to the policy of opposition to the Holy See which, on the other side of the Rhine, flourished under the title of Gallicanism. Joseph II. was not personally an enemy of the Catholic Church, but the philosophic ideas of the party of Enlightenment* in Austria had taken possession of his mind and urged him to undertake reforms in religious matters without any regard for the authority of the ecclesiastical superiors.

He published an Edict of Toleration in 1781 which granted Protestants and members of the Orthodox Greek Church free exercise of their religion, while the Jews received many privileges hitherto denied them. It is to be noted, however, that the Emperor was strongly opposed to the freemason order which was then striving to establish its branches throughout his Empire. He aimed, too, at strengthening the National Church at the expense of the Holy See, by establishing the *Placitum Regis* for all Papal briefs and documents sent into Austrian territory, by forbidding his subjects to accept Papal titles or honours, by forbidding the bishops to apply to Rome for a renewal of their ordinary quinquennial faculties or for dispensations in matrimonial cases of whatsoever kind, and by prohibiting all ecclesiastical students to frequent the *Collegium Germanicum* in Rome. In place of the latter he established a College at Pavia where the students might be preserved from the dangers of ultramontaniam. Marriage was declared to be a purely civil affair subject entirely to the power of the state, and regulations were made re-arranging the matrimonial impediments of consanguinity, mixed marriages, the religion of the children of mixed marriages, and the important question of divorce.

The Emperor devoted particular attention to the religious orders established within his territories. He forbade them to acknowledge the authority of any superior residing outside the jurisdiction of the empire, and, thus, the Austrian religious houses were withdrawn from the authority of the generals usually resident in Rome.

* *Die Aufklärung.*

In October, 1781, he issued a decree that all religious orders not devoted to works of charity or not clearly forwarding the public good, should be abolished, and in accordance with this decree about 780 convents of men and women were seized between 1781 and 1786, and their revenue appropriated by the state. The money thus acquired was set aside for the establishment of new dioceses and parishes, for the better payment of the secular clergy or for education. The religious houses allowed to remain, about 1,425 in number with a membership of about 2,500, were placed under the special control of the government, and new regulations were framed to secure the proper observance of discipline.

Probably the most dangerous of the reforms introduced by Joseph II. were those affecting the education of ecclesiastical students. The episcopal seminaries were abolished as well as the clerical monastic schools. In their place central seminaries were founded for the different provinces at Vienna, Pesth, Pavia, Freiburg, and Louvain, and in these establishments all clerical students were obliged to receive their education. The central seminaries were subject entirely to the control of the government, and the bishops had no voice in the selection of the professors, of the text-books, or in the framing of disciplinary regulations. The professors appointed by the Emperor were, as a rule, men who had come into conflict with ecclesiastical authority, or who had shown a decided leaning towards Liberalism, and as a result the dogmatic theology and the scripture teaching were decidedly Protestant or rationalist in their tone, and the canon law was Febronian. Had the system of central seminaries succeeded there is hardly any doubt but that the Emperor would have attained the result at which he aimed, namely, the establishment of a National Church.

The erection of these seminaries was, as shall be seen, strongly opposed by some of the bishops, and the bishops were supported by their people; but what first really roused the Catholic feeling of the laity was the

Emperor's ill-considered interference with the liturgy of the Church, and the popular forms of devotion. In 1783 a series of regulations was issued prescribing the language to be used in the different religious exercises, the number of evenings on which Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament could be given, the number of candles to be used on the occasion, and prohibiting public processions, and the usual burial ceremonial. The command that the dead bodies should be rolled in sacks and burned in quicklime led to popular insurrections in different parts of the Empire.

Though many of the bishops were too much of the court type to offer any serious resistance, yet Cardinal Migazzi,* Archbishop of Vienna, and Cardinal Bathynyi, of Gran, solemnly warned the Emperor against such reforms, but their protests and warnings were unheeded. Pius VI. determined to seek the Emperor at Vienna in the hope that by a personal interview he might induce him to abandon his policy of aggression. With this object in view he started from Rome in 1782. His journey to Vienna was marked by demonstrations of popular sympathy and respect, but on his arrival at the capital he was coldly received by the Emperor, and his Minister, Kaunitz, nor had his representations any effect in inducing them to change their attitude towards the Church. After a stay of four weeks, which was fruitless except in so far as the presence of the Pope roused the religious loyalty of the masses, Pius VI. took his departure from Vienna. The next year (1783) Joseph II. returned the visit by going to Rome, when the remonstrances of the Pope were met by him with a threat of breaking off all connections with the Holy See and of setting up a German National Church. The Spanish Minister, Azara, acted, however, as mediator, and though no guarantees were given by him still from this period his policy towards the Church was more moderate and prudent.

The spirit of free inquiry bordering on rationalism prevalent at the time in the Austrian territories, together

* Wolfsgruber, *Chr. Anton Migazzi*, 1890.

with the adherence of many, and amongst them a large number of the bishops, to the ideas of Febronius, supplies the key to the policy of Joseph II. The Austrian canonists supported him in his innovations; while the bishop electors of Mayence, Treves, Cologne and the archbishop of Salzburg were fully determined to reduce the principles of Febronius to practice by abolishing the Papal nunciatures in German territory, freeing themselves from the jurisdiction of the Pope, and establishing a German National Church. They protested against the appointment of the nuncio, Zoglio, in 1785, and when the Pope refused to yield to their request they appealed to the Emperor, Joseph II., for assistance.*

The three prince bishops and the archbishop of Salzburg met at Ems in 1786 and published the celebrated twenty-three articles known as the *Punctuation of Ems*. According to this document the bishops had no reason for having recourse to Rome; the matrimonial dispensations could be given in virtue of their episcopal power; Bulls and briefs might be received or rejected by the bishop as he pleased, the revenue of the pallium and annats should be abolished, and the right to regulate the ecclesiastical discipline should be vested in the bishops.

Fortunately the Papal nuncio at Cologne, Pacca,† afterwards Secretary of State to Pius VII., was well fitted to deal with such a serious situation. He published a letter addressed to the clergy warning them that the archbishops had no power to grant the dispensations promised, and that all such attempted grants were worthless. The bishops and priests remained loyal to the Pope, and in 1787 the prince bishop of Treves acknowledged his mistake by appealing to the Holy See for faculties to dispense. In 1789, three of the elector-bishops made their submission and withdrew their opposition to the appointment of nuncios in German terri-

* Stigloher, *Die Errichtung der Päpstlichen Nuntiatur in München und der Emser Congres*, Ratisbon, 1867.

† Pacca, *Memorie Storiche della Nunziatura di Colonia*, Rome, 1832.

tory, and the granting of dispensations from Rome. Pius VI. sent them a warm letter of congratulation.

Meanwhile, the popular discontent against the government of Joseph II. had begun to manifest itself, especially in Hungary and the Netherland provinces. In his policy of unification he treated Hungary and Bohemia as two Austrian provinces, and put aside their special constitutional rights and privileges. All the religious reforms mentioned above were introduced into Hungary, although the Hungarian Supreme Court declared them illegal. Driven to extremes by new methods of taxation the Hungarians banded together, allied themselves with Prussia, insisted on a National Assembly (1789), and prepared to back their demands by force. The Emperor and Kaunitz yielded, and in 1790 nearly all the regulations passed for Hungary since 1780 were withdrawn.

The Austrian provinces of the Netherlands resented bitterly the religious and political reforms of Joseph II. Intensely Catholic as the Belgians were, they were opposed to the seizure of the monasteries, the prohibition of processions and certain other religious ceremonies, and the establishment of the imperial provincial seminaries. Cardinal von Frankenberg* boldly protested against these usurpations of ecclesiastical rights, and specially warned the Emperor against attempting to found one of the government seminaries in Louvain. In spite of these warnings the erection of the seminary was continued, and Stöger, a priest who had openly gone over to the party of the "*Illuminati*," and who had been dismissed from his professorship of ecclesiastical history by the Empress Maria Theresa on account of his well-known rationalist tendencies, was appointed to the new establishment (1786). The seminarists rose in revolt in the following December, and the troops had to be sent amongst them before order could be restored. This open defiance of their religious feelings roused the

* Cf. Theiner, *Der Kardinal Johann Heinrich Graf von Frankenberg*, Freiburg, 1850.

masses of the people to make common cause with their clergy, while the proclamation of a new constitution for Belgium (1787) robbed them of a large share of their constitutional privileges. Many of the cities refused to pay taxes; negotiations were opened up between their leaders and the representatives of Joseph II., but in 1789 martial law was proclaimed and the people rose in revolt. The clergy and nobles joined the Third Estate; Holland and Prussia encouraged the insurgents; the Austrian army was shut up in Brussels and in the few fortresses of the provinces, and the Emperor withdrew all his ordinances (November, 1789). The concession, however, had come too late. The events in Paris encouraged the Belgians to continue their work. On the 18th December, 1789, Van der Noot, one of their successful generals, entered Brussels in triumph, and on 10th January, 1790, the independence of the "United States of Belgium" was proclaimed and a provisional government appointed. Prussia, England, and Holland immediately recognised the new Republic, and Belgium was practically lost for ever to the House of Habsburg.

The Revolution in Hungary and Belgium broke the heart of Joseph II. He died on the 20th of February, 1790. All his projects of unification had succeeded only in dividing the states of his Empire, and as he remarked himself before his death, the proper inscription on his tomb should be—"Here lies a prince whose intentions were good, but who had the misfortune of seeing all his projects prove a failure."

On the death of Joseph II., his brother, Leopold II. (1790-1792), succeeded. As Grand Duke of Tuscany (1765-1790) he had been the energetic assistant of the Emperor in all his attempted ecclesiastical reforms. Leopold endeavoured to introduce these reforms into the Church in Tuscany, and he found a willing helper in Scipio Ricci, the bishop of Pistoia, and the admirer of Jansenism and Febronianism. In 1786, the latter convened a synod of his clergy at Pistoia which was attended by about two hundred and seventy-four

priests.* Several of these came from neighbouring dioceses, and all of them, like Tamburini, the well-known Gallican professor of Pavia, were opposed to the claims of the Holy See. The Gallican Articles and the teaching of the Jansenists were approved. The matrimonial impediments were to be reduced by the Grand Duke, the oath of allegiance taken by the bishops to the Pope was to be changed, the religious orders to be reorganised, and new regulations issued dealing with liturgy, prayers, pictures, penance, and indulgences.

To put these decrees into execution it was necessary to secure the approval of the bishops of Tuscany. A synod of the bishops was convoked by the Grand Duke in March, 1787, but the assembly was far from being so pliant as had been anticipated. Of the three archbishops and seventeen bishops ruling the province of Tuscany only a few were willing to assist the Grand Duke in his reforms, and the meeting was immediately dissolved. The people showed their disapproval of the proceedings at Pistoia by attacking and destroying the palace of the bishop, Scipio Ricci (1787); and when the Grand Duke, having succeeded to the throne of his brother, left Tuscany, the bishop was driven from the city and obliged to abdicate. Pius VI. condemned the decrees of the Synod of Pistoia in the Bull, *Auctorem Fidei*, 1794, and the unfortunate bishop made his submission to Pius VII. on the return journey of the latter from the coronation of Napoleon in Paris (1805).†

When Leopold arrived at Vienna in 1790 he found everything in disorder. The Netherland provinces except Luxemburg were in rebellion; Bohemia and Hungary were on the verge of secession, and the attitude of Prussia and Turkey was far from friendly. Peace was soon made with Prussia and Turkey. The demands of Hungary were in part granted, and Leopold went to Pressburg where he took the oath of loyalty to the constitution and was crowned by the Primate of Hungary.

* Gelli, *Memorie di Scipione Ricci*, 2 vols. Florence, 1865.

† Rinieri, *Napoleon e Pio. VII.*, Turin, 1906, Chap. I., pp. 8-10.

The attempts, however, to recapture the Netherlands by force failed owing to the presence in Belgium of the armies of France.

The ecclesiastical reforms introduced by Joseph II. also demanded careful attention. On the arrival of Leopold in Vienna, the cardinal archbishop presented a protest against the recent legislation on Church affairs, and on 21st March, 1790, the bishops presented a list of the grievances of which they complained. Their memorial dealt principally with the central seminaries, the Ecclesiastical Commission, the marriage laws, and the organisation of the monasteries. Their demands regarding the seminaries were practically granted, as each bishop was empowered to found a seminary for the training of ecclesiastical students for the secular mission, while the monasteries might establish faculties of theology. A few of the monasteries were restored, and some of the regulations regarding processions and religious services were withdrawn; but the *Placitum Regis* was retained, the Ecclesiastical Commission continued, and the Church funds administered under the control of the state. Open attacks on religion were, however, discouraged by a stricter censorship of the press.

Leopold II. was deeply interested in the progress of the Revolution both as a brother of Marie Antoinette and as an absolute monarch. In August, 1791, in conjunction with the King of Prussia, he issued the Declaration of Pillnitz, and in February, 1792, concluded an alliance with Prussia against France. He died in March, 1792, before war had been formally declared. He was succeeded by Francis II. (1792-1835). The first part of his reign was occupied entirely with the war against France. In the year 1797 a peace was arranged between the two powers known as the Peace of *Campo Formio*, according to which Austria abandoned her possessions in the Netherlands, ceded to France the German territory on the left bank of the Rhine, recognised the Cisalpine Republic, and obtained as compensation for her losses Venice, Istria, and Dalmatia. The

war broke out again in 1799, and having suffered defeat in Italy at Marengo, and in Germany at Hohenlinden (1800), Austria agreed to the Peace of *Lunéville* (1801).

In 1805 an alliance was formed against Napoleon by Austria, Russia and England. War broke out the same year, and the capitulation of General Mack at Ulm, the occupation of Vienna by French troops, and the decisive defeat of the Austrians and Russians forced Francis II. to sign the Peace of *Pressburg* (26th Dec., 1805), by which he surrendered Venice to the French kingdom in Italy and the Tyrol to Bavaria, the ally of Napoleon. In the next year, on the formation of the Confederation of the Rhine, Francis II. resigned the title of Roman Emperor, and retired to his own hereditary dominions. Austria was, however, determined to wipe out the humiliation of *Pressburg*, and having made careful preparations declared war in 1809. The Austrians were bravely supported by the Tyrolese under their famous peasant leader, Andreas Hofer, but the second occupation of Vienna, the defeat at *Wagram* (1809), and the French victories in the Tyrol, made it necessary to accept the Treaty of *Vienna* in 1809. This entailed further cessions of territory not only to Napoleon, but to the allies of Napoleon among the German princes. The peace was followed by the marriage between Maria Louisa, daughter of Francis II., and the Emperor Napoleon in 1810.

With the defeat of Napoleon by the Allies in 1814, and the occupation of Paris, Austria re-acquired her possessions in Northern Italy together with Venice, and the Austrian power in Italy was confirmed and strengthened at the Congress of Vienna.

Francis II. was personally a religious man, but on account of his attachment to the memory of Joseph II. and the hold which Josephism had acquired over the minds of his advisers he made little change in the government policy towards the Church. The Ecclesiastical Commission, composed for the greater part of men without religion, controlled the ecclesiastics of the

country, the *Placitum Regis* was enforced to prevent free communications between the Austrian bishops and the Holy See, while many of the petty restrictions on religious services were still continued. The blame for this state of affairs does not rest entirely with the Emperor or his advisers. Many of the bishops and higher clergy were in possession of extraordinary wealth, and utterly devoid of zeal in discharge of their duties. They were selected from the court favourites, and were themselves too thoroughly imbued with Josephism to permit them to risk the favour of the Emperor by untimely protests.

The results of the French Revolution fixed the attention of the authorities on the importance of encouraging a religious spirit amongst the masses. In 1802, an imperial rescript was issued in regard to the training of clerical students. The number of clergy was found too small to minister to the wants of the people, and a law was passed arranging that new clerical junior schools should be established, that each diocese should have its theological seminary, and providing large sums for the support of the ecclesiastical students. Provision was also made for the organisation of the religious orders. In the secularisation of ecclesiastical property the Church suffered comparatively little in the Austrian Empire. The territories of the bishops of Trent and Brixen were occupied by the Emperor, but the monasteries and the ecclesiastical foundations were left practically untouched.

The Emperor while refusing to abolish the regime of Joseph II. made some concessions. By the reforms of Joseph II. the Catholic schools were thrown open to all, and the schools became more or less neutral. In 1804, the primary schools were placed under the control of the episcopal consistories, but these had no power except to carry out the imperial orders.* In 1808, however, the bishops secured complete control of religious education in the gymnasia, and a strong voice in the literary education of the primary and secondary schools; in 1814, a

* Brück, *op. cit.*, Vol. II., p. 433.

strict censorship of theological books was enforced; provisions were made for the religious wants of the university students, and the government officials were obliged to make an outward show of fulfilling their religious duties. In 1819, when the Emperor visited Rome Pius VII. presented a memorial dealing with the grievances of the Church in Austria, but the councillors of the Emperor advised the latter against attempting any change. Later on, Francis II. was anxious to meet the wishes of the Pope, and in 1833 negotiations were opened to secure the arrangement of a concordat, but without result. In his will Francis recommended his successor to abolish the remaining laws affecting the Church that had been introduced by Joseph II.

Ferdinand I. (1835-1848) succeeded. Like his predecessor he was personally a sincere Catholic, but had not sufficient strength of character to overcome the resistance of his officials to any grant of liberty to the Church. It is to be noted, however, that though the official government was still attached to the principles of Josephism, the public opinion was gradually veering round in the opposite direction, and the Catholic revival had one good result, namely, that the rising generation of clergy and laymen were being emancipated from the anti-Papal tradition. The Ecclesiastical Commission still controlled the bishops, and the universities continued to be in the hands of the Liberals.

The question of mixed marriages that led to such wild scenes in Prussian territory created no small difficulty in Austria during the reign of Ferdinand. In the days of Joseph II. a law regarding mixed marriages had been published according to which the children were to be reared Catholic if the father were Catholic, but if the father belonged to some other religious persuasion the boys might adopt his faith, while the girls should be reared in the religion of their mother. The priests were bound to assist at such marriages, and owing to the general carelessness prevailing among the bishops, the clergy were accustomed to assist without securing

any promise from the parties that the children should be reared as Catholics.

When the controversy broke out in Prussia on this question the bishops could no longer shut their eyes to this uncanonical custom, and some of them published pastorals commanding their priests to preach against such marriages, and in case they should be called upon to bless such unions they were to insist that the ordinary guarantees demanded by the Church should be given. If the parties refused to give these, then the clergy should refuse to hold any religious ceremony. The governors of the provinces reported these new regulations to Vienna, and the bishops requested that instructions from the Holy See should be sought for either directly by the government or indirectly through the bishops.

No application was made to Rome, but in 1837, on the arrest of the archbishop of Cologne, public feeling ran so high in Austria that Metternich warned the Emperor to effect a settlement or else a conflict must certainly arise between the bishops and the government. This confession of the wily minister is clear evidence that a new spirit animated the younger generation of Austrian bishops. A commission was appointed in 1838 under the presidency of Metternich to examine the question, but no good result followed their labours. The parish priests took the matter into their own hands, and appealed (1838) to the archbishop of Vienna to enforce the provisions of canon law in regard to mixed marriages. The latter instructed them to demand the guarantees, and if these were refused to seek instructions from the archbishop's court. The priests were only too anxious to carry out these instructions to the letter, and the government now insisted that the bishops should punish them for their infringement of the laws of Austria.

The bishops made a personal appeal to Ferdinand to put an end to such an unseemly conflict, and they received permission to submit the matter to the judgment of the Holy See (1840). In May, 1841, Gregory XVI.

published a brief in which he strongly inveighed against such marriages, urged the insistence on the ordinary guarantees, but in case these were refused he permitted what is called negative assistance, that is, the priest might witness the marriage but without religious service of any kind. This letter of Gregory XVI. received the imperial *Placet*, and was communicated to the bishops. The Consistories of the Protestant Church appealed against it, but their efforts were without avail, and the matter was quietly settled.

The demands for greater liberty of the press and reform of the constitution on the basis of popular representation were causing anxiety to all the governments of the German Confederation. In 1844, a conference of their representatives was held at Vienna, and it was resolved to refuse bluntly all further concessions. The Austrian provinces in Italy, together with Hungary and Bohemia, were showing signs of considerable unrest, and when the news of the Revolution in Paris was flashed through Europe insurrections immediately broke out in Italy and Hungary. The Austrians were partially successful in quelling the disturbances in Italy. The feeling in Vienna in favour of a constitution was, however, so strong that Metternich fled to England. A new constitution was proclaimed, but the insurrection broke out in Vienna, and Hungary, under the leadership of Kossuth, broke from Austria. The imperial troops succeeded in quelling the disturbance, but before the campaign for the reduction of Hungary was well begun Ferdinand I. resolved to hand over the difficult task of restoring peace to his scattered dominions to younger and more capable men. On 2nd December, 1848, he formally resigned the Imperial Crown in favour of his nephew, Francis Joseph, and retired into private life, spending a great deal of his time at Prague, where he died in 1875. His abdication marks the end of the absolutist policy of Metternich, and the beginning of a new era for both Church and State in the Austrian territory.

(c) THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN PRUSSIA

Brück, *op. cit.* Gams, *Geschichte der Kirche Christi im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, 3 Bde., Innsbruck, 1854. Laspeyres, *Geschichte und heutige Verfassung der Kathol. Kirche Preussens*, Halle, 1840. Nussi, *Conventiones de rebus ecclesiasticis inter S. Sedem et Civilem Potestatem*, Rome, 1869.

Prussia under the rule of the House of Brandenburg was a distinctly Protestant state. It was the professed patron of Lutheranism, and members of the scattered Catholic communities in Prussian territory were carefully excluded from all offices of state. During the reign of Frederick the Great (1740-1786) many reforms were introduced into the government; a new life was infused into every department; in the wars with Austria the large Catholic district of Silesia was acquired; and the position of Prussia as one of the first-rate powers of Europe was assured.

Frederick the Great was himself an indifferentist in religious matters, and during his reign the free-thinking movement made alarming progress among the Lutheran population. But he maintained the traditional attitude of the Prussian Government towards the Catholic Church. Even in the newly-acquired territory of Silesia, where the population was Catholic, and where religious freedom had been guaranteed, all kinds of petty restrictions were placed upon the ecclesiastical authorities. The reason was that Frederick, as temporal sovereign, claimed the same jurisdiction over the Catholic Church as he was accustomed to exercise over the Lutheran communion. He claimed the right of appointing to all ecclesiastical benefices, and even of appointing bishops without any reference to the Pope. He set up a bishop at Breslau with jurisdiction over all the Catholics of his territory, and when this prelate recognised the evil of his ways and made his submission to the Pope, he was treated by the king as a traitor to his country. He claimed the right of arranging the marriage contract, the impediments, dispensations, and

conditions for civil marriage without any interference from the ecclesiastical authorities, and in his appointments to responsible offices even in the Catholic districts he consistently passed over all conscientious Catholics.

In 1794, when the Code of Common Law for Prussian territory was published, the supremacy of the secular power in ecclesiastical affairs was unmistakably enunciated. It was laid down that the state has the right to annul and condemn religious enactments which were likely to prove inconvenient, to arrange the number of holidays of obligation, to appoint bishops, to erect new parishes, to prevent any foreign ecclesiastics from exercising jurisdiction in Prussian territory without the permission of the government, to exercise a supervision over all Papal documents, and to prevent the bishops from introducing any changes in religious matters at the suggestion of a foreign superior.*

Under Frederick William III. (1797-1840) the same policy was continued, but on account of the large Catholic population of the Rhine districts brought under the jurisdiction of Prussia through the Secularisation the difficulty of carrying out such a policy was vastly increased. The religious institutions, monasteries, chapters, &c., were deprived of their territories, and the religious orders, except the convents devoted to the care of the sick, were suppressed. Though compensation was promised, and though Frederick William III. had expressly undertaken that he would better the condition of the clergy in the Rhinelands, erect a bishopric there, and provide for clerical education, yet very little was done to satisfy the demands of the Catholic people. While new Protestant parishes were formed in purely Catholic districts, and new Protestant schools erected, and crowds of Protestant officials sent in to help in the work of conversion, and mixed marriages likely to prove detrimental to the Catholic Church encouraged, the organisation of the church, the education, and

* Allgemeine Landrecht, 1794.

especially the provisions for due training of Catholic clerical students, were either neglected or placed under state control. The direction of Catholic affairs was committed to the Ministry for Home Affairs in 1808, and two new departments, Religious and Educational, were erected.

In 1814, Pius VII. addressed a letter to the king of Prussia reminding him of the necessity of putting an end to the disorder in ecclesiastical organisation throughout his territory. It was felt in Prussia that negotiations should be opened with Rome for the conclusion of a separate concordat, but, on the other hand, the government expressed the fear that any such arrangement was certain to weaken the power of the state in ecclesiastical affairs. When the attempts made at the Congress of Vienna to secure a common agreement with the Pope for all the German States failed, Niebhur was sent by Prussia, as its representative, to Rome to open negotiations for a concordat, though it was only in 1820 that he received definite instructions from his government. As, owing to the extravagant demands of the Prussian State, it was impossible to arrive at a definite conclusion on all the points, it was agreed that the discussions should be confined entirely to a new diocesan arrangement in Prussian territory.

The election of bishops created a difficulty even in this limited programme, for the state demanded almost complete control, but the difficulty was solved by leaving the election to the cathedral chapters, to whom the Pope was to issue an instruction forbidding them to elect any person disagreeable to the government. Finally, an agreement was arrived at on all points, and on the 16th July, 1821, Pius VII. signed the Bull, *De Salute Animarum*,* which was published as a state ordinance in August of the same year.

According to this agreement two archiepiscopal sees were erected, one at Cologne for West Prussia, and one at Gnesen-Posen for the eastern division of the kingdom.

* Nussi, *Conventiones*, XXVI.

Six bishoprics were established in addition, three of which, Treves, Münster, and Paderborn, were placed under Cologne, one of them, Culm, as suffragan to Gnesen-Posen, and two others, Ermland and Breslau, exempt from both metropolitans. In each cathedral a chapter should be established, and the number of canons was arranged for each diocese. The provost of the chapter, the dean and the canons were to be appointed in alternate months by the Pope and the bishop. In case of a vacancy in a bishopric or archbishopric the members of the chapter were to proceed to the election of a suitable candidate for the office, the only restriction being that they should select a Prussian. To help the bishops in the administration of their large territories an assistant bishop was to be appointed in each diocese. A seminary was to be erected in each diocese in accordance with the decrees of the Council of Trent. The Prussian Government undertook to make due provision for the support of the bishops, chapters, seminaries, and clergy. The prince bishop of Ermland, Joseph von Hohenzollern, was appointed by the Pope as his representative in Prussia to ensure the due execution of the provisions of the Bull.*

The work of carrying out these provisions was beset with difficulties. The Prussian Government had pledged itself to set aside permanent endowments for the support of the Catholic religion, but in order to keep the clergy more completely under control no permanent source of revenue was provided, and their salary was paid out of the common Treasury. Disputes, too, arose about the upkeep of the cathedrals for which the government was responsible, but which it tried to throw upon the shoulders of the Catholics by imposing additional taxes for baptisms, marriages, and funerals. Owing to these disputes it was only in 1825 that the provisions of the Bull could be carried out.

But even with the concordat the position of the Church in Prussian territory was still very unfavourable. The

* Brück, Vol. II., pp. 60 *sqq.*

placitum Regis was carefully enforced on all Papal documents, and the bishops of Prussia were not permitted to communicate with the Holy See except through the state officials. The elections of bishops, though nominally free, were rarely carried through without direct or indirect interference from the government, and the same influence was at work in the appointments to parishes and canonries. The examination of clerical students was superintended by state officials, while in the positions of trust, even in the Ministry of Worship, hardly a Catholic official could be found. They were excluded from professorships in the universities, and as far as possible even from appointments in the gymnasia. In many districts of the Rhinelands the government officials were the only non-Catholics to be found.*

The most serious controversy, however, between the ecclesiastical and civil authorities regarded the difficult question of Mixed Marriages.† According to the Common Law of Prussia (1794) the boys born of a mixed marriage were to be reared in the religion of the father, the girls in the religion of the mother, and outsiders were forbidden to interfere in the religious education of the children so long as the parents themselves were satisfied. By a decree of 21st November, 1803, it was arranged that all the children of such marriages should be reared in the religion of their father, and no one of the married parties should try to influence the other to depart from this ordinance. This decree created a difficulty for the Catholic clergy, but it was only in 1825, when the decree of 1803 was extended to the Rhine provinces, that the crisis became very acute. The children must follow the religion of the father unless both parents otherwise agreed; all pre-matrimonial compacts on this point were forbidden, and those already made were declared invalid. Taken in conjunction with the influx of Protestant officials into the Catholic Rhine provinces this decree was meant to favour the Protestant party.

* *C. fr. Pfülf, Cardinal v. Geissel*, 1895. Brück, pp. 240 sqq.

† Roskovany, *De Matrimoniis Mixtis*, 7 Tomes, 1842 sqq. Brück, *op. cit.*, II. Bd., Chapters XIX.-XXVII.

The parish priests met this order by making no demand for guarantees regarding the religious education of the children, but if the parties themselves did not freely give sufficient assurance on this point, they refused to publish the banns or bless the marriage, nor would they grant absolution to any Catholic girl contracting such a marriage without having obtained the required guarantee, nor admit to the sacraments any Catholic married woman who allowed her children to be reared in another religion. The government accused the priests of infringing the law; the cases were tried before the criminal courts, but the prosecution failed to secure a conviction. Defeated in this plan of overcoming the resistance of the pastors they turned to von Spiegel, Archbishop of Cologne, and requested him to instruct his priests to carry out the royal ordinance.

The archbishop was anxious to avoid a conflict with the government, while, on the other hand, his conscience forbade him to sanction openly what was directly opposed to the canon law; and having vainly tried to salve his scruples by a reference to the customs of Eastern Prussia, he and his suffragans petitioned the king to allow them to submit the whole matter to the judgment of the Holy See. In 1828, Frederick William acceded to this petition, and instructed his Minister at Rome, von Bunsen, to open up negotiations regarding the mixed marriages.

The negotiations began at Rome in May, 1828, but were interrupted shortly after by the death of Leo XII. They were resumed, however, by his successor, Pius VIII., and in March, 1830, the brief, *Literis altero*, was addressed to the four bishops of West Prussia. In this brief the Pope went as far as possible to meet the wishes of the Prussian Government. He exhorted the priests to warn Catholics against such dangerous unions, and forbade the clergy to undertake any religious ceremony on the occasion of the marriage of parties who refused the proper guarantees; but at the same time he allowed "passive assistance" of the clergy at such functions,

and forbade them to promulgate any censure against the contracting parties who refused to comply with the canonical regulations. The mixed marriages celebrated without the presence of the parish priest were declared valid. This brief was far from satisfactory to the government, and Bunsen was instructed to demand certain modifications, but Gregory XVI., who had succeeded Pius VIII., and who, besides, had himself drawn up the brief, *Literis altero*, replied that without betraying the most sacred duties of his office he could not accept the required modifications.

Bunsen left Rome for Berlin in 1834, having promised Gregory XVI. to bring the Papal brief under the notice of the bishops. On his arrival in Berlin, von Spiegel, the archbishop of Cologne was summoned to court, and on 19th June, 1834, a secret convention was entered into between himself and the Prussian Government. For this convention he secured the approval of his suffragans. It consisted of fifteen articles, according to which it was agreed that the bishops should publish the Papal brief, but should issue with it a commentary drawn up for them in Berlin, by which the instructions of the brief were set aside, and a line of action in accordance with the royal ordinance of 1825 laid down for the guidance of the clergy. In nearly every instance the pastors were permitted to assist at the mixed marriages with the usual ceremonies and without requiring any guarantees, and it was only in extreme cases that they should have recourse to "passive assistance."

The pastoral letters of the bishops did not settle the difficulty. Some of the parish priests accepted the interpretation of their superiors, and assisted at all marriages whether guarantees were given or not. The majority of them refused to do more than passively assist in case the required promise was not forthcoming. Von Spiegel regretted the convention he had made, but was too weak-minded to denounce openly the agreement. His death in 1835 left the Church in a better position.

Meanwhile, though the government and the bishops

had kept the convention a secret, ugly rumours soon spread in Prussia, and were published in several foreign journals. From different sources Gregory XVI. learned how the Prussian Government and the four bishops had deceived him. In March, 1836, he demanded explanations from von Bunsen, the Prussian Minister at Rome. The latter promptly responded by denying the existence of any such convention. The archbishop was undoubtedly, he said, summoned to Berlin to see if the Papal brief could not be explained in a sense conformable to the royal decree. He agreed that it could; his suffragans were of the same mind; they published their pastorals; and they alone, and not the Prussian Government, were responsible.

It was necessary to elect a successor to von Spiegel in Cologne, and curiously enough the government was not unwilling to accept the assistant bishop of Münster, Clemens Augustus von Droste-Vischering, a member of one of the oldest of the princely families in Westphalia, and a man who in his contests with the disciples of Hermes had proved that he was both able and willing to defend the rights of the Church.* He was elected by the chapter, and his election was confirmed in 1836. He was at once involved in the mixed marriages controversy. Gregory XVI. demanded of the Prussian bishops a full account of their transactions with the government. Clemens Augustus, who was in ignorance of the convention, answered that he was determined to carry out the old canonical regulations on the point, while the three bishops involved sent very unsatisfactory replies. But in January, 1837, the Pope received a letter which gave him all the information he required. The bishop of Treves was one of the parties to the convention. On his deathbed his conscience smote him for his betrayal of the Church, and he sent a letter to the Pope giving a full account of the negotiations with the government, pointing out how grievous a misfortune this agreement had proved, and begging the Pope to for-

* Maurenbrecher, *Die Preussische Kirchenpolitik und der Kölner Kirchenstreit*, Stuttgart, 1881.

give him for the weakness he had shown. The Prussian Minister, von Bunsen, had a difficult task before him to explain away that letter in accordance with the previous assurances he himself had given to the Holy See.

But Clemens Augustus of Cologne was determined to carry out in its entirety the Papal instruction on mixed marriages. He communicated this order to his parish priests, and as he could not trust his vicars he reserved all cases of mixed marriages for his own personal decision. The priests supported the archbishop right loyally, except the members of his own chapter. He was summoned to Berlin, and as he refused to yield an inch the government demanded his resignation. He promptly refused to resign (1837), and the government now threatened to punish him for his opposition.

In 1837 he summoned the chapter and laid before them the danger, but they received the communication with cold reserve. Not so, however, the priests and the clerical students. They pledged themselves to stand by their archbishop come what may. The Catholic laity of Cologne soon learned that the archbishop was in hourly danger of arrest, and the excitement in the city was intense. On the night of the 20th November, 1837, the streets leading to the archiepiscopal palace were filled with armed men; the soldiers were held in readiness in their barracks to suppress an insurrection; the archbishop was arrested and driven quietly out of the city, and it was only the next day that the people of Cologne realised that their beloved archbishop was a prisoner.

The Prussian Government realised that such an extreme step would arouse bitter feeling all over the Catholic world. Hence they immediately issued the "*Publicandum*" justifying their action, and denouncing the archbishop as a traitor. They were specially anxious to justify themselves in the eyes of the Pope, and had taken care to prevent all correspondence between Clemens Augustus and Rome. But through the exertions of Cardinal Reisach and King Louis I. of Bavaria

the Pope had been kept in close touch with the difficulties in Cologne, and, now, as soon as the news of the arrest reached Munich, a special messenger was despatched to Rome to put the facts before the Holy See. The Pope immediately (10th Dec., 1837) addressed an allocution to the cardinals in which he denounced the arrest of the archbishop, approved entirely of his conduct, set forth the facts of the case at length, and despatched a copy of his protest to all the courts of Europe.

The arrest of the archbishop was a fortunate incident for Catholicity in Germany. It roused the Catholics to assert themselves, and to free themselves from the grip of Josephism and Febronianism. Görres, by his writings, especially by his well-known book, *Athanasius*,* made use of the scenes at Cologne to stir up a real religious revival in Germany. The priests of Cologne were loyal to the instructions of their archbishop, and even though the chapter proved false to him, and elected a vicar to rule the diocese, they refused to hold any communications with the chapter or its vicar. To remedy the disorder that ensued Gregory XVI. allowed the vicar to act, but only in the name of the imprisoned archbishop.

The events in Cologne had a good influence in Eastern Prussia,† where, owing to the carelessness of the higher clergy, the old canonical regulations regarding mixed marriages had been long neglected. Von Dunin was then the archbishop of Gnesen-Posen. He had followed the struggle at Cologne, and had read with interest the allocution of Gregory XVI. in 1837. He realised that he had been wrong in permitting such an infringement of ecclesiastical law, and in 1838 he issued a pastoral to his clergy forbidding them under pain of suspension to assist at mixed marriages unless complete guarantees had been given regarding the Catholic education of the children. The pastoral was received with enthusiasm by both priests and people. The government demanded

* Regensburg, 1838.

† Franz, *Die gemischten Ehen in Schlesien*, Breslau, 1878.

that the archbishop should withdraw his instructions, but he respectfully refused; and was supported in the refusal by his chapter, clergy and people. In 1839 the government invited him to come to a conference at Berlin, and on his arrival there, he was detained practically a prisoner.*

When this news reached Gnesen-Posen, the assistant bishop and chapter refused to carry on the ecclesiastical work until the archbishop should be allowed to return. Everything was in a state of disorder. Von Dunin learned the state of affairs, and, without acquainting the government, he quietly left Berlin and returned to his diocese where, a few nights after his arrival, his house was surrounded by soldiers and he was carried away a prisoner. When the news spread the whole diocese went into mourning. No bells were rung, no music was allowed at the masses; the flowers were removed from the altars; no solemn religious functions were held, and, in a word, a second Lent was proclaimed. In spite of all the exertions of the government to prevent this attitude of mourning it was maintained in all the churches through the year 1840.

Nor was the struggle confined to Gnesen-Posen. It spread to the diocese of Breslau, ruled by the prince-bishop Sedlnitzky who was a Liberal Catholic, if not worse. He did no diocesan work, issued no pastorals, and was ready to yield to every suggestion from Berlin. His clergy took a firm stand, and presented him with an address praying him to put in force the canonical regulations regarding mixed marriages. To this remonstrance he vouchsafed no reply. The clergy then turned to Rome, and in 1839 Gregory XVI. sent a letter to the bishop warning him that serious charges had been made against his administration. As this produced no good effect the Pope sent a second letter in 1840, demanding his resignation, else he should be obliged to take very painful measures for the restoration of discipline in the diocese of Breslau. Sedlnitzky promptly sent in his

* Pohl, *Martin von Dunin*, Marienburg, 1843.

resignation, retired from Breslau, and afterwards fell away entirely from the Church.

In 1840 Frederick William III. died, and was succeeded by Frederick William IV. The latter was anxious for peace, as he had long realised the injury done to the country by this religious war. He immediately issued a proclamation announcing that the government would not interfere in the question of mixed marriages, and that the clergy might act as they pleased. Von Dunin accepted this as a satisfactory settlement, and returned to his diocese.

But there was a peculiar difficulty in the case of Clemens Augustus. The Prussian Government had proclaimed him a traitor in all the courts of Europe, and could not, therefore, easily accept him again as archbishop of Cologne. A way of escape acceptable to all parties was proposed. Clemens Augustus was old and infirm. It was arranged that he should receive a coadjutor to whom might be entrusted the full administration of the diocese, while Clemens Augustus should still retain the title of archbishop of Cologne with his house and a competent revenue, and might reside where he pleased. The government agreed to withdraw publicly all the charges that had been made against him. He published a pastoral introducing the new coadjutor to the people of Cologne, and retired himself to his old home at Münster. He visited Rome, where he was received with great honour, and was offered a cardinal's hat, an honour which he declined. He died at Münster in 1845.

The mixed marriages controversy proved a veritable boon for the Catholic Church in Germany. As even Frederick William himself admitted, the arrest of the archbishop had given a new impulse to Catholicity in the Prussian States.* Frederick William IV. (1840-1859) was sincerely anxious to establish peace between Church and State. He despatched an ambassador to Rome to arrange for a settlement of the troubles in

* Brück, *op. cit.*, Vol. II., p. 373. Görres, *Ges. Briefe*, pp. 505 *sqq.*

Cologne and in Gnesen-Posen, and showed his anxiety to deal fairly with the Church by allowing the Prussian bishops free communication with the Holy See (1841), and by withdrawing the royal *Placet* on all religious ordinances, and by setting up a special department in the Ministry of Worship to deal with Catholic affairs. To conciliate the Catholics of the Rhine provinces he made generous donations to the fund for the completion of the Cologne Cathedral, and issued an appeal for aid in the work of its completion.

The king had a special motive for endeavouring to win the support of the Catholics. The demands for a constitutional government in accordance with the promise of 1815 were growing each year, and to make a show of concession the king summoned a *Landtag*, composed not of popular representatives but of deputies sent from each state (1847). When this assembly tried to usurp the traditional prerogatives of the throne it was dismissed, and when the news of the Revolution in Paris reached Berlin an insurrection broke out (1848), which was suppressed only when Frederick William IV. promised a popular constitution. In 1850 the new constitution was proclaimed, and, in accordance with the ideas of liberty then in vogue, greater freedom was granted to the Catholic Church.

(d) THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN BAVARIA

In addition to works cited above, *cf.* :—H. V. Sicherer, *Kirche und Staat in Bayern, 1799-1821*, Munich, 1874. Strodl, *Das Recht der Kirche und die Staatsgewalt in Bayern seit dem abschluss des Concordates*, Schaffhausen, 1852.

None of the German states, with, perhaps, the exception of Austria, suffered more from the false philosophic teachings and the theology of the party of Febronius than did Bavaria, once the leader of the counter-Reformation and the bulwark of the Catholic Church. As a

result the higher circles of Bavaria were either devoid of religious conviction, or jealous of ecclesiastical authority, especially that of the Pope. During the reign of Charles Theodore (1778-1799) this party was held in some restraint, but on the succession of Maximilian IV. (1799-1825) all the latent hatred against the Church burst forth with such fury that for a time it threatened to overthrow completely the Catholic Church in Bavaria.

Maximilian IV. had been himself married to two Protestant ladies in succession, and his sympathies lay in the direction of Protestantism, while his chief minister, Montgelas, had been already dismissed from Munich on account of his public adherence to the sect of the "*Illuminati*." In 1800, Protestants were allowed to settle freely in Munich, and were, in fact, encouraged to do so; many of the offices of state were conferred upon them; they were allowed to open churches in the capital; and clandestine marriages between Catholics and Protestants were declared valid, though Pius VII. did not hesitate to denounce such unions as concubinage (1803).

Bavaria was one of the states that led the way in assisting Napoleon to overthrow the Empire, and as a consequence, Maximilian was especially favoured by the French Emperor. It also led the way in its brutal enforcement of the Secularisation Decree of 1803. Before this period the destruction of the religious orders, and more especially of the mendicant orders, had been plotted by Montgelas. From 1799 pamphlets began to appear attacking the mendicants, pointing out the burthen such institutions placed on the shoulders of the poor, the injury they did to the secular clergy, and the advantage that might accrue to all parties, to the clergy as well as the laity, if the goods of the orders were confiscated and applied to the support of hospitals and education. In 1802 a special commission was appointed to deal with the suppression of the orders, and during the course of that year the Franciscans, Capuchins, and

Carmelites were driven from their monasteries, and confined in special central houses set apart for their use. Here the government supported them by the grant of a miserable pension.

The monasteries, churches, church furniture, and even the sacred vessels were put up for sale. The libraries were seized, and the books and manuscripts transferred to the state libraries and archives, or sold very often to American and Russian purchasers. As a result of this campaign about four hundred monasteries were destroyed, and goods to the value of twenty million pounds confiscated for the benefit of the Treasury, to be spent by the king for the most part in frivolous amusements.

Undoubtedly the aim of Montgelas, as shown by his enactments, was to subject the Catholic Church entirely to state control. In 1808 the old Ecclesiastical Council which managed religious affairs was abolished, and a new section established in the Ministry of the Interior to deal with ecclesiastical concerns. This section was manned by two lay Catholics and three non-Catholics, and their instructions were that all matters not in themselves essentially religious questions, and which in any way regarded the state or the common weal, were to be withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the bishops and arranged by the civil authority.

In the decree of 1809 this principle was reduced to practice in its most extreme form. The state undertook to settle the question of mixed marriages, and the religion of the children born from such marriages. It formulated the *Appelatio ab Abusu*, allowing the government to cite the bishops before the courts for abuses of ecclesiastical power. It gave to the king the right to prescribe forms of prayer to be used in the churches, to call together ecclesiastical assemblies, to watch over the clergy and insist on a due fulfilment of their duties, to supervise the communications of the bishops with their priests or with the Pope; and it forbade the bishops to issue regulations regarding religious

services, processions, benedictions, ceremonies, and vows until these regulations had been approved by the civil authorities.

In education the aim of the government was to free it entirely from religious influence. For this reason the universities were filled with Protestants or Catholics who had gone over to the party of "Enlightenment," which meant that they became for all practical purposes rationalists. The gymnasia were thrown open to all religions, and the same method of selecting professors adopted. The worst feature of the policy was the complete withdrawal of the faculties of theology and of the clerical seminaries from the control of the bishops. While the Protestant university at Ellwangen was allowed to continue undisturbed, the Catholic university at Ingolstadt was transferred to Landshut and packed with professors whose main qualification was their readiness to combat Catholic theology. The Georgianum seminary was also transferred to Landshut, and Matthew Fingerlos appointed director. He had distinguished himself as a disciple of the new learning in his attacks on the doctrines of original sin, the Divinity of Christ, the redemption, and the efficacy of the sacraments. For full eleven years (1803-1814) he was allowed to conduct the seminary and corrupt the faith of the students in spite of the protests of the ecclesiastical authorities.

The same policy of secularisation was applied to the university of Würzburg, and professors of any religion or of no religion were freely appointed. A Protestant faculty of theology was erected, though there were no Protestant divinity students, and the notorious Paulus, a man who had been already condemned by two Protestant consistories for his attacks on Christianity, was appointed professor. The government wished that the Catholic theological students should attend his lectures, and a few insubordinate students having insisted on following this course, the government supported them against their bishop.

When the bishop refused to impose hands upon them, and struck their names from the lists of those called to orders, the government objected to his attitude and insisted upon their ordination. It was only on a personal appeal to Maximilian that an end was put to such a scandalous contest.

But the officials were determined to overthrow the authority of the bishop. In 1804 new regulations were drawn up for the seminary arranging the appointment of superiors, the plan of studies, the discipline, and the reception and expulsion of students. The character of the new ordinances can be judged from the fact that they suppressed morning meditation, spiritual reading, spiritual conferences, &c., and that they prescribed that no student's name should be omitted from the list of those called to orders, and no student should be expelled without acquainting the civil authorities. The bishop resolved to resist the introduction of any such regulations, but a conflict was avoided when Ferdinand of Tuscany undertook the government of the territory in 1806. He restored the Catholic character of the university, placed the theological faculty under the supervision of the bishop, and dismissed the professors who were hostile to the doctrines of the Church.

In the Tyrol, too, Bavaria soon found itself involved in a serious conflict. The Tyrol had been under the dominion of Austria, but, except in the University of Innsbruck, Josephism had got no hold on the clergy or people. Francis II. was obliged to hand over the Tyrol to Napoleon in 1805, and in 1806 Napoleon conferred it upon Bavaria to whose ruler he had given the title of king. In 1806, the very year of the cession, when all the old customs of the Tyrol were being suppressed, the bishops of Brixen, Trent and Chur were forbidden to ordain any ecclesiastical student educated at Trent or Brixen until he had undergone an examination at the University of Innsbruck. In 1807 they received two new regulations, one claiming for the Crown the right of appointment to benefices, the other requesting the

bishops to command their clergy to publish the regulations on religious matters sent to them from the civil authorities. The bishops of Trent and Chur took up a firm attitude, but the bishop of Brixen was less firm in his opposition. From Rome the bishops received advice and encouragement.

In 1807 the bishop of Trent was arrested and sent to Salzburg, the bishop of Chur was banished into the Swiss portion of his diocese, while many of the priests were arrested or banished. The chapter of Trent was disloyal to its bishop, and at the request of the government appointed a vicar, and endeavoured by all kinds of threats and punishments to force the clergy to obey him. In Chur, however, the clergy rallied to a man round their exiled bishop. It was then resolved to hand over the Tyrol portion of Chur to the bishop of Brixen or to the bishop of Augsburg, but both prelates refused to undertake the work. In this extremity the vicar lately appointed to Trent came to the rescue, and named as his vicar in Chur, Koch, a former professor of Innsbruck. The priests received an ultimatum in June, 1808. They were to submit to the vicar, or run the risk of being punished as traitors or rebels. Their exiled bishop appealed to their loyalty, and almost to a man they refused to acknowledge the usurper. Those of them who did not go into hiding were arrested and sent away to different parts of the kingdom. Other priests were sent to take their place, but the people refused to receive spiritual assistance from men whom they regarded as schismatics and intruders. The vicar who had been misled by the government officials refused to continue in such a false position and resigned. The Bavarian government saw the blunder that had been made in rousing the religious as well as the political enmity of the Tyrolese, and opened negotiations for a concordat with Pius VII. The latter used his influence to put an end to the religious disorders. But in 1809, when war again broke out between Austria and France, the Tyrolese rose like men in favour of their old ruler,

Francis II. The war was both religious and national. At the head of the movement stood Hofer, Speckbacher, and the Capuchin friar, Haspinger. The skill and bravery of the Tyrolese, and the determination with which they fought against overpowering odds, is one of the brightest chapters in the whole Napoleonic wars. They cleared out the intruders, restored their old clergy, catholicised again the schools and gymnasia, and put an end to the schismatical policy of Montgelas. But with Francis II. unable to assist them, and face to face with the overwhelming forces of France, they were gradually driven back; their leader, Hofer, arrested and shot; and their country once again forced to submit to the yoke of Bavarian rule. Their resistance had, however, one good result; it taught the Bavarians to be more careful about wounding the national or religious feelings of their Tyrolese subjects.*

In 1816 the bishops of Bavaria made a direct appeal to Maximilian for some redress. They requested a fixed endowment for their seminaries, the right of supervising the education of their clerical students, and freedom in the administration of their dioceses. Arrangements had been going on for some time about a concordat, but it was only in this year, 1816, that the negotiations began in real earnest. The demands of Bavaria, including a recognition of state supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs, were so extreme that no basis for discussion could be found. Nor so long as Montgelas remained in office was it possible to arrive at any settlement. But fortunately he was dismissed in 1817, and in the same year Dalberg, the great upholder of a German national church, was called to his reward. It was therefore possible to bring about a concordat which, after certain modifications, was finally accepted in October, 1817.†

The concordat with Bavaria contained 19 Articles.

* Brück, *Geschichte der Kath. Kirche in XIX^{en} Jahrhundert*, Vol. I., p. 239 *sqq.*

† Nussi, *Conventiones de Rebus Eccl.*, No. XXII.

The first of these guaranteed the Catholic Church in Bavarian territory all rights and privileges accorded to it by its divine constitution or canonical statutes. It provided also that there should be two metropolitan sees, one at Munich-Freising, the other at Bamberg, under each of which were to be erected three suffragan sees. Each archiepiscopal or episcopal see was to have a cathedral chapter. The king of Bavaria obtained the right of nominating the bishops, and the Pope was to confer canonical institution. The Pope also appointed the provost of the chapter, the king appointed the dean and the canons in the Papal months, while the bishop and chapter appointed alternately to the vacancies in the other months. In each diocese a seminary was to be erected, and the appointment of seminary professors rested with the bishop. The government undertook the support of religion. The right of supervising the religious education of the primary schools was granted to the bishops, as well as the censorship of books, jurisdiction in matrimonial affairs, and free intercourse with their priests and with Rome.

The concordat was signed by Maximilian in October, 1817, but, as soon as its contents became known, a bitter campaign was started against its publication by the Liberal Josephist party and by the Protestants led by Anselm Feuerbach.* It was published, however, in 1818 as an appendix to the new constitution of that year, but, in imitation of the Organic Articles of Napoleon, a new religious ordinance was promulgated at the same time. According to this, full religious freedom and legal equality were guaranteed to the Protestants in Bavaria, and the clergy were requested to speak respectfully of the religious convictions of their opponents. The document went further, and practically insisted on the old doctrine of the supremacy of the state even in religious matters. It proclaimed again the royal *Placet*, the *Appelatio ab Abusu*, and the right of the king to command prayers and thanksgiving festivals.

* *Anselm Ritter von Feuerbachs Leben und Wirken*, Leipzig, 1852.

This edict was evidently in opposition to the concordat, and was devised by the old Liberal officials to prevent a full agreement between Church and State. The Pope protested against this infringement of a solemn agreement, as did the bishops of Bavaria. Several of the bishops and clergy refused to take the oath of loyalty to the new constitution on the ground that some of the clauses were opposed to the organisation of the Church and the terms of the concordat.* It was feared at Munich that Pius VII. might find himself constrained to forbid the clergy and lay Catholics of Bavaria to swear allegiance. Negotiations were opened with Rome, and, at last, the king published (1821) a proclamation declaring that the oath referred only to the civil constitution, and imposed no obligation that might be in opposition to the divine or canonical organisation of the Catholic Church, and that, furthermore, the terms of the concordat remained in full force, and should be observed by the state officials. The clergy were satisfied with this explanation, and the bishops consented to take the oath.

The concordat, however, remained to a great extent a dead letter. The old officials of Bavaria had no intention of granting liberty to the Church, and hence they continued to exercise supervision over all communications between the bishops and Rome, or between the bishops and their clergy; they neglected to make any permanent provision for the support of religion in order to keep the clergy in a state of continual dependence; they interfered in the selection of ecclesiastical students; and they prevented the bishops from exercising their office of punishing public and notorious criminals.

With the death of Maximilian and the accession of Louis I. (1825-1848) a better era began for the Catholic Church in Bavaria. The king was himself well disposed towards religion, and wished to secure peace between Church and State. He did much to restore the Catholic

* Höfler, *Concordat und Constitutionseid der Katholiken in Bayern*, Augsburg, 1847.

character of the university in Munich, and brought together there such a band of Catholic scholars—Görres, Möhler, Klee, Philipps, Döllinger—that Munich was looked to as the great centre of Catholic learning. The religious orders were allowed to return to the houses from which they had been expelled; missions to the people were encouraged; the seminaries were generously endowed and manned by religious professors; the old churches of Bavaria that were fast going into ruins were restored; the cathedrals of Ratisbon, Bamberg, and Spire were finished; and several new ones, models of architectural beauty, were built.

There were not wanting, however, very serious conflicts between Church and State during the reign of Louis I. The reason was that, however well-intentioned the king might have been, he was still dependent upon his officials, and the latter retained the old notions of state supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs. Noteworthy among these subjects of contention were the disputes about mixed marriages, and the kind of memorial services to be held in the Catholic Churches on the death (1841) of queen Carolina, the wife of the late king Maximilian. She had been a Protestant, and some of the bishops who allowed solemn mass and prayers for the deceased were blamed severely by the Holy See, while others of them who adhered strictly to the ecclesiastical regulations incurred the warm displeasure of the king. The order given in 1838 commanding the soldiers to genuflect before the Blessed Sacrament on church parades, in processions, and when it was carried solemnly to the sick, caused a great outburst among the non-Catholic party. The order was, however, modified in 1840, and finally withdrawn in 1845.

Towards the end of his life the policy of Louis I. became less favourable to the Catholic Church. He had fallen entirely under the influence of the actress, Lola Montez, and was blind to the remonstrances of his ministers and of the bishops. Through her advice the ministry of Abel, which had been specially favourable

to the Catholic Church, was dismissed, and its place taken by that of Zu Rhein. This ministry was anxious to conciliate the Liberal party, and instructions were issued to the officials to supervise closely the preaching of missions through the country, the examination of clerical students, and the establishment of religious confraternities. Other ministries followed in rapid succession. In March, 1848, the news of the revolution in Paris reached Munich; the discontent of the people with their weak-minded king led to an insurrection, and Louis I. was forced to abdicate in favour of his son who assumed the title of Maximilian II.

(e) THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE UPPER RHINE
PROVINCES.

Longner, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Oberrhein. Kirchenprovinz*, Tübingen, 1863. Brück, *Die Oberrhein. Kirchenprovinz von ihrer Grundung bis zur Gegenwart*, Mayence, 1865. Maas, *Geschichte der Kathol. Kirche im Grosherzogthum Baden*, Freiburg, 1891.

The Protestant states of Baden, Würtemberg, Nassau, Hesse-Cassel, Hesse-Darmstadt, &c., had received considerable additions of territory owing to the secularisation in 1803, and with the new territory a large Catholic population. In Baden the Catholics were now between one-half and two-thirds of the whole, while in Würtemberg they formed nearly one-third of the population. In all these states the Church lands were seized, the monasteries and religious orders suppressed, and the buildings handed over to secular uses, or destroyed. In Baden the famous old monasteries of St. Peter's, St. Blasien, and Gengenbach were seized, the monastic lyceums were closed, the mendicants orders were sent out as secular priests to undertake parochial work or pensioned, and the valuables were transferred to Carlsruhe. The same scenes were witnessed in Würtemberg, Hesse, Nassau, and the smaller German states.

With the universities, especially the University of Freiburg, a policy similar to that which had been adopted by Bavaria was closely followed. Men were appointed to the chairs, even in the faculty of theology, who had shown their willingness to combat the teachings of the Catholic Church, and who were committed to Febronianism and Josephism. The secondary schools were thrown open to all, and even the supervision of religious instruction in these institutions was taken from the bishops and handed over to the state officials. The primary schools, however, remained denominational, except in Nassau, and the colleges for the training of the school teachers likewise retained their religious character, but the religious training was withdrawn from the control of the bishops.

In all these states the supremacy, which the government asserted for itself over the Protestant churches, was now claimed in the affairs of the Catholic Church. In Baden (1803), Würtemberg, Hesse-Darmstadt and Nassau edicts were issued confining the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical authorities to purely spiritual matters, and reserving all other questions for the decision of the state officials. In Würtemberg all orders issued from the vicariat should bear the stamp, "By Royal Authority"; the *Placet* was strictly enforced; the holidays suppressed; and the matrimonial dispensations placed under state supervision, as well as the examination of clerical students. Commissions were appointed to deal with ecclesiastical affairs, and to these commissions were appointed either Protestants or Catholics who had come into conflict with their Church. In Würtemberg, for example, an ex-Benedictine, Werkmeister, who had broken from the Church, and who warmly advocated the state supremacy in religion, got a seat on the commission, while in Baden, Brunner and Häberlin received appointments although the former of these had openly joined the "*Illuminati*," and the latter was a well-known opponent of clerical celibacy, and a champion of divorce.

Catholics were excluded from all offices in the government or administration by the very fact that they were Catholics. So notorious was this policy in Baden, and so much discontent did it excite, that Napoleon, as protector of the Rhine Confederation, was obliged to remonstrate with the Grand Duke of Baden, and as these remonstrances were unavailing, to despatch a strongly-worded note (1810) insisting that the policy which was dangerous for Baden as well as for the Rhine Confederation, should be discontinued. In reply to this a Catholic minister was appointed, but he was powerless in face of the strong opposition, and in 1813, when the strength of Napoleon was broken, and when there was no longer any danger, he was dismissed.

The diocesan organisation was almost entirely destroyed by the political changes after 1803. The bishops who had been deprived of their states were to continue to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction over their old territories, but as these had been divided between different rulers, these rulers made it almost impossible for them to exercise any control, and when the old bishops died out before a concordat had been arranged, the various territories were ruled by vicars appointed by the chapters. Prince bishop Dalberg, of Regensburg,* exercised a general supervision. A great part of Baden was placed under the vicar of Constance, to which office Dalberg appointed von Wessenberg in 1801. The latter was a noted follower of Febronius in doctrine, and a zealot for the Josephist reforms. He introduced changes in the liturgy, ordered the suppression of the Latin missals, and the use of the German language in all liturgical services. These reforms were opposed by a large body of the priests and by the mass of the people; and, so great was the disturbance which ensued, that in 1811 the government of Würtemberg forbade all such novelties. In spite of this, however, Dalberg appointed him his coadjutor in 1815, and though the Holy See

* Beaulieu-Marconnay, *Karl von Dalberg*, Weimar, 1879.

refused to recognise him, the Grand Duke supported the appointment.

In 1817 Dalberg died, and the chapter of Constance appointed von Wessenberg vicar capitular. The Pope refused to confirm the election, but the Grand Duke still supported the chapter. Von Wessenberg undertook a journey to Rome with the hope of rousing German public opinion against the Pope, and of winning sympathy for his project of a national church. The Pope still firmly adhered to his refusal, and von Wessenberg returned to Germany disappointed in his mission. The assembly at Frankfort paid no attention to his programme, and on the appointment of an archbishop to Freiburg he retired into private life.

All efforts to conclude a common concordat for the German States at Vienna and at the assembly in Frankfort having failed, the representatives of Baden, Würtemberg, Nassau, Hesse, and a number of smaller states met at Frankfort in 1818 to discuss the project of a concordat with Rome. The selection of the delegates sent to the congress, and the tone of the opening speech, showed clearly enough that the intentions of the states were far from friendly to the Catholic Church. The aim of the governments was to secure the assistance of Rome in putting an end to the religious confusion in their territories, and having obtained a diocesan division, and the appointment of bishops, to insist by civil ordinances on the doctrine of state supremacy. To deceive the Pope they adopted two forms of agreement, one, the Declaration, containing the points which they believed Rome would accept; the other, the Organic Law, containing the regulations which Rome would certainly reject. The first only was to be submitted to the Holy See, the second was to be kept a secret till the agreement with Rome had been concluded, and then to be published by each government as a state law. This arrangement was concluded in October, 1817, and the negotiations with Rome were entrusted to Baden and Würtemberg.

The ambassadors of these states arrived in Rome in 1819, and presented a copy of the Declaration to the Pope. It contained nine clauses dealing with the erection of dioceses, the method of electing bishops and members of chapters, the erection of seminaries, and the appointments to benefices. The demands were so extravagant that the Pope could not possibly accept the terms, and though his secretary, Consalvi, displayed great politeness in his negotiations with the ambassadors, he was firm in refusing to accept their terms without serious modifications. He offered, however, to arrange the diocesan division and appoint the bishops since the necessity for these was most pressing.

The Conference met again in Frankfort in 1820, and it was agreed to accept the offer made by the Pope to erect new dioceses and to appoint bishops. The representatives, however, pledged themselves to a secret compact, the *Kirchenpragmatik*, in which most of the articles of the Organic Law, to which they had previously agreed, were inserted. The Pope issued the Bull, *Provida Solersque*, in August, 1821, providing for the erection of a metropolitan see in Freiburg with jurisdiction over the whole province of the Upper Rhine, together with four bishoprics—Mayence, Fulda, Limburg and Rottenburg. The Conference, while in its public declarations endeavouring to reassure the Pope, who was unwilling to confirm the bishops till some agreement had been arrived at on other matters, was, in reality, arranging a civil code for the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs, and was endeavouring to secure a pledge from the candidates for the bishoprics that they would accept these civil ordinances (1822). All these promised their adhesion except von Kempff, the bishop-designate of Fulda. The Pope received news of these underhand intrigues, and refused to accept the list of candidates presented for the bishoprics. But the negotiations were not entirely broken off. The state of affairs in Baden forced the government to come to terms with the Holy See. At length, in 1826, the representative of the Pope presented

an official note to the assembly at Frankfort, which was rather in the nature of an ultimatum; the representatives of the states accepted the terms with some modifications, and in 1827 Leo XII. issued the Bull, *Ad Dominici Gregis Custodiam*.*

This, in addition to confirming the erection of the bishoprics, fixed the method to be followed in the election of the future bishops. The candidates were to be elected by the chapters, and the government had the right of striking out the names of the men disagreeable to itself, but a sufficient number of names should be left to permit the chapter to make a genuine selection. The chapter should then elect one from the number of those acceptable to the government, and the Pope was to grant the canonical institution. Chapters and seminaries were to be established in each diocese and placed under the control of the bishop; the bishops were to be permitted to exercise their spiritual jurisdiction in accordance with the canons then in force; and their free intercourse with the Head of the Church was guaranteed. Though the Conference agreed to these terms they once more pledged themselves to a secret compact embodying the old regulations regarding the supremacy of the state in religious affairs, and withheld the publication of this till the episcopal sees had been filled. Bernard Böll was appointed archbishop of Freiburg and consecrated in 1827. The other sees were filled in 1827 or 1828, except Mayence, where the Pope and the government of Hesse did not arrive at an agreement about the selection till the year 1830.

As soon as Mayence had been filled in 1830 each state promulgated the secret convention regarding the management of ecclesiastical affairs in its own particular territory. It contained the same assertion of the supremacy of the civil power as had been already rejected by the Pope, and, if enforced, it left the ecclesiastics little better than ordinary state officials. The most unfortunate aspect of the case was that the archbishop of

* Nussi, *Conventiones*, No. XXX.

Freiburg and three of his suffragans rather favoured the promulgation of the convention, and in spite of the official protests of Pius VIII. (1830), and his sharp reproof of the neglect shown by the bishops, they persisted in their attitude of submission or secret approval. Only one of them, the bishop of Fulda, showed any firmness in opposing these exorbitant demands of the state, and the success of his courageous resistance showed what might have been obtained had all the bishops of the province signed a joint protest to the different governments. The laymen were more zealous for the liberty of the Church, but found themselves handicapped by the indifference of the bishops and the open hostility of some of the clergy. In 1833, Gregory XVI. addressed a strong letter of reproof to the archbishop of Freiburg and his suffragans, but it was as fruitless as his energetic protest issued at the same time to the governments of Baden and Würtemberg.

By these ordinances the states claimed complete control in nearly all the affairs of the Church, and the provisions of the agreement with the Pope were quietly set aside. The free election of the bishops, which had been guaranteed, was in many cases only a farce, as is shown by the course of events in Freiburg in 1836, and in Nassau in 1840. The bishop, when appointed, was not free to rule the diocese as he thought best. He was dependent on the votes of his chapter, and the government managed in nearly every case to secure a friendly or a worthless chapter. But the bishop and chapter had very little power compared with the Ecclesiastical Commission, which was a purely state organisation, set up by each state for the management of the Church in its own territory. It controlled the pastorals of the bishop, revoked or confirmed his orders as it pleased, made ecclesiastical regulations without consulting the bishop, punished, nay, even suspended, clergymen by its own jurisdiction, and acted as a court of appeal to which priests or people might proceed against the decision of their bishop. In Baden, the government appointed to

nearly every parish in the territory. The same was true of Würtemberg. In Nassau, the bishop nominated the parish priests and the government appointed, while in Hesse, owing to the resistance of the bishop, the state did not claim such extravagant powers. In some of the other states the first news the bishop got of the appointments was through the official newspapers. In Baden the Catholic laymen were prevented from struggling against these regulations as they desired by the cowardly wavering of Böll, the archbishop of Freiburg, while in Würtemberg, when the bishop, Keller, at last awakened to the necessity for strenuous resistance (1841), he found himself opposed in the Chamber of Deputies by the representatives of his own chapter.

The mixed marriages controversy naturally found an echo in the province of the Upper Rhine. According to the law of Baden, the parties wishing to get married in such cases might choose the parish priest of the bride or of the bridegroom, and whichever clergyman they appeared before was bound to marry them, whether they agreed to rear the children in the Catholic or Protestant religion. In 1830, the archbishop ordered the parish priests to warn Catholics intending to contract such marriages of their dangerous character, and to endeavour to secure an agreement that the children should be instructed in the Catholic faith. The Church Commission reproved the archbishop for daring to issue such an instruction without permission, and threatened him, that if any parish priest refused to assist at mixed marriages he should be severely punished. The archbishop submitted to such dictation, and the government ordinances were obeyed in Freiburg till the resistance in Cologne once more fixed public attention on the question.

In 1838, archbishop Demeter, who had succeeded to Freiburg in 1836, made another attempt to carry out the ecclesiastical laws governing mixed marriages, but he allowed himself to be browbeaten by the government, by the Church Commission, and by a section of his own chapter into complete submission to the state regulations.

When Hermann von Vicari succeeded to the see of Freiburg in 1842 he issued an injunction to his clergy that all mixed marriages were to be referred to the archbishop's court by which instructions would be issued for each particular case (1845). The Church Commission reproved the archbishop for such an open infringement of the law, but his only reply was a command to his parish priests to refuse to bless mixed marriages unless guarantees regarding the Catholic education of the children had been given. The most he allowed in case of refusal of such guarantees was, what had been allowed by the Pope in Prussia, passive assistance. Nor did the government or the Church Commission succeed in inducing the archbishop to change his attitude. He refused to hold any further correspondence with either party on the question, and in March, 1846, he despatched a full account of the proceedings to Gregory XVI., who highly approved of his attitude. The clergy adhered to the instructions of their archbishop, and the government by its silence accepted the situation.

In Würtemberg* the parish priest of the bride was obliged to assist at the marriages, and if he refused to assist at mixed marriages he was liable to a severe penalty. The bishop and chapter of Rottenburg accepted this regulation without any resistance. The priests who refused obedience were punished, and Mack, one of the Tübingen professors who had spoken against the government regulations, was dismissed. When in 1837 the scenes at Cologne roused the clergy and people to resistance, the bishop exhorted them to submit, and issued a pastoral against the conduct of the bishops in Prussia, who were disturbing the public peace. The bishop, however, changed his attitude, and in 1841 tried to procure a change of government policy, but he was resisted publicly in the Chamber by his own chapter. He submitted a statement of the facts to Rome, and Gregory XVI. sent an instruction on the line of conduct to be pursued in regard to mixed marriages,

* Mack, *Die Kathol. Kirchenfrage in Württemberg*, Schaffhausen, 1845.

and especially prohibited the introduction of any special liturgy for such a ceremony. The chapter continued their resistance to the bishop, but in 1848, the bishop peremptorily forbade the clergy to bless such unions unless proper guarantees had been given, and, in 1855, the government withdrew the law commanding the parish priest of the bride to perform the ceremony.

In the agreement concluded between the governments of the Upper Rhine and the Pope, it had been arranged that to each diocese should be attached a seminary for the education of the clerical students, and that this institution should be endowed by the state and placed under the control of the bishop. The states had no intention of permitting the clergy to be educated in seminaries. They were determined to send them to the universities, where the professors would be practically independent of the bishops, and where their education would be controlled not by the Church but by the State. The clergy of the Upper Rhine were being educated at the universities of Freiburg and Tübingen, and the seminaries of Mayence and Fulda. It was determined to suppress the two latter institutions, and for the future the students of Hesse were to go not to Fulda but to the university of Marburg where a theological faculty was erected; while the seminary students at Mayence were henceforth to study at Giessen University.* But the energetic protest of the bishop and of the municipal authorities of Fulda killed the project of a faculty at Marburg, and the seminary at Fulda remained.

The government of Hesse, however, clung to its plan of erecting a theological faculty at Giessen, where the university was almost entirely Protestant, and where there was not even a Catholic church in which the students might assist at the ordinary religious services. Though the faculty was erected in 1830, there was no Catholic church till the year 1838, and during that period a Protestant church was placed at the disposal of the

* Lutterbeck, *Geschichte der Kathol. Theol. Facultät zu Giessen*, Giessen, 1860.

Catholic students. In these circumstances, and especially in view of the fact that many of the professors were strongly Hermesian or Josephist, it is not to be wondered at that the bishop and chapter of Mayence were not friendly to the change, and insisted on a return to the seminary training. The laity were especially determined in their attitude, and, if they had received proper encouragement from the ecclesiastical authorities, the scheme would never have been attempted. The dismissal of one of the theological professors by the government in 1841 roused the clergy of Mayence to petition their bishop to open again the seminary at Mayence. The students at Giessen sent a pitiful appeal to the bishop to make some arrangement whereby they might escape from the dangers to both faith and morals that surrounded them at Giessen. The government, however, insisted on continuing its policy, and it was only in later years that permission was given to open the seminary at Mayence. The clerical students of Nassau were also obliged to attend the university of Giessen, but in 1848, owing to the persistent demands of the clergy of Limburg, the law was changed, and they were permitted to seek their education elsewhere.

The clerical students of Baden were bound to make their studies at Freiburg. This university, which was supported largely by Catholic endowments, suffered much from the appointment of men who had imbibed the spirit of "enlightenment," and who were either convinced followers of Josephism or disciples of the rationalist school that had developed itself among the Austrian and German Catholics. The professors were particularly determined in insisting on the abolition of clerical celibacy. The professor of ecclesiastical history, Reichlin-Meldegg, took occasion in his lectures to attack openly the dogmas of the Catholic Church, and even allowed himself to go so far as to deny the Divinity of Christ. The archbishop of Freiburg drew the attention of the government to his conduct, but the government refused to interfere, and the archbishop was too weak to meet

such a serious situation. It was only when the professor publicly went over to Protestantism that he was removed from Freiburg, and transferred to the philosophical faculty of Heidelberg. Schreiber, the professor of moral theology, both in his published works and in his lectures, denounced clerical celibacy as unnatural, unlawful and immoral, while the lay professor of canon law, Amann, adopted the same view, and was never tired of denouncing the usurpations of the Church and of the hierarchy. In spite of the protests of the archbishop and of the Cardinal Secretary of State (1833), both professors were protected by the government. It was only in 1838 that Schreiber was removed to the philosophical faculty, and in 1840 Amann was retired from his chair of canon law.

The movement for the abolition of clerical celibacy was particularly strong in the diocese of Freiburg. In 1828 a petition was presented by twenty-eight professors of Freiburg to the Chamber of Deputies demanding the abolition of celibacy, but it was rejected. The movement spread into Hesse and was brought before the Chamber of Deputies, but the government refused to take any action. Meanwhile, in Baden, a new Chamber, more liberal, or rather more radical, in its tendencies, had been elected, and the agitation was taken up with greater energy. Many of the priests, and even some of the seminary students, signed the address in favour of abolition. The Chamber of Deputies, after a warm debate, passed a motion in favour of abolishing clerical celibacy, but the government was unwilling to enforce such a resolution.

To procure the reforms a number of the clergy in Baden and elsewhere tried to force the bishops to convoke synods for the discussion of ecclesiastical affairs. To these synods laymen and clergy should be free to come; the delegates, whether lay or cleric, should be elected as deputies; and the decision should be in accordance with the vote of the majority. When the archbishop refused in 1837 and 1840 to summon such assemblies, they appealed to the government and the Cham-

bers, but without result. In 1838 Kuenzer, a dean of the diocese of Freiburg, accepted the presidency of a society that had been founded to combat Ultramontanism and Romanism. It was composed of clergy and laymen, and adopted as its weapons of campaign free discussions in public meetings and in the press. Gregory XVI. sent a sharp note to Demeter, the archbishop of Freiburg, commanding him to take the necessary measures against such scandalous proceedings (1838). Instead of punishing the guilty clergyman himself, as it was his duty to do, he appealed to the Church Commission and then to the Ministry to put an end to the scandal, but they refused to take any action (1839). In October of the same year the archbishop refused to allow his priests to be absent from their parishes in order to attend a meeting of the society, and the government, though it supported his action in the particular case, warned him that he had no authority to issue a general prohibition against a society that had not been condemned by the civil authority. The founder of the society, who had been living a life of open immorality, finding that the public opinion of Lucerne was strongly against him, fled to America. On his retirement the society gradually died out.

The unfortunate weakness of the first two archbishops of Freiburg, Böll (1827-1836) and Demeter (1836-1842) contributed in part to the enslavement of the Church in Baden as well as in the whole province of the Upper Rhine. But with the appointment of Hermann von Vicari a new era began. He had been rejected already by the government in 1836 as being likely to be disagreeable, and his after-career as an archbishop justified the nervousness of the civil authorities. He was persistent and unflinching in his demands for fair treatment for Catholics and for the Church. The Grand Duke, Leopold, was anxious to remove some of the pressing grievances of the Church in Baden; but the Chamber of Deputies and the Ministry were too strong and too intolerant to accept this policy of conciliation. The results

of the exclusion of the Church from the universities, and the revolutionary education given to the school teachers of Baden, made themselves felt in the spread of revolutionary ideas all over the state. In 1848, the outbreak that had long been feared took place; the Grand Duke fled; a provisional government was formed; and it was only by the interference of Prussia and Austria that the rebellion could be suppressed. These events, as shall be seen, were not without their influence on the Catholic Church.

CHAPTER III

THE CHURCH IN SWITZERLAND

SWITZERLAND

Seignobos, *op. cit.*, Chap. IX. *A Short History of Switzerland* by Dr. Karl Dündliker, translated by E. Salisbury, London, 1899. Hurter, *Die Befeindung der Kirche in der Schweiz*, Munich, 1902. Büchi, *Die Kathol. Kirche in der Schweiz*, Munich, 1902. Siegwart-Müller, *Der Kampf zwischen Recht und Gewalt*, 3 Bde., Altdorf, 1863-66. Crétineau-Joly, *Histoire du Sonderbund*, 2 vols., Fribourg, 1850.

BEFORE the French Revolution Switzerland consisted of a number of little states leagued together for defence, though each confederate state was absolutely independent. The central Diet consisted merely of the ambassadors of the states and had no power as a federal government. The individual states had their own peculiar constitutions, laws and customs, though in the main the power was generally in the hands of the aristocratic families, and the state authority had the right of prescribing a form of religion for its subjects. The outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789 encouraged the opponents of the aristocratic governments to further efforts for the introduction of popular rule. The Directory in Paris took the discontented Swiss "Patriots" under its protection, and having arranged a new constitution they determined to force it upon Switzerland by violence. In 1798 insurrections, that had been carefully fostered by the French, broke out in nearly all the Swiss cantons, and a large French army under Menard marched to the assistance of the insurgents. The Helvetic constitution, modelled on that of France, was established, but, in

reality, Switzerland was treated by Napoleon as a conquered province. When, therefore, the cantons were commanded to send delegates to Aargau (April, 1798) to accept the constitution the eastern cantons, for the most part Catholic, refused, and, encouraged by their clergy, made a desperate resistance. The overwhelming numbers of the French soldiers at last secured the victory for the Helvetic constitution.

Switzerland was now divided into two parties—the Federalists who desired the re-establishment of the cantonal authority, and the Centralists who were determined to uphold the supremacy of the central government. The constant bickerings between the two parties gave Napoleon the opportunity for interfering as mediator and of establishing what is known as the government of Mediation (1803). This was practically a return to the old constitution of Switzerland, except that certain of the new cantons which had been hitherto regarded only as allies or subjects of other cantons, were now placed on a footing of equality with the others, and that a more representative form of government was introduced into the larger cantons. Switzerland remained, however, under the power of Napoleon.

The government of Mediation lasted till Napoleon had met with the serious reverses of 1812 and 1813. The advance of the allies put an end to it, and opened a new series of civil broils, till, at last, mainly owing to the admonitions of the powers assembled at Vienna, the representatives of the cantons agreed to the Federal Pact which was approved by the Congress in 1815. This was, like the Restoration in France, a return to the old constitution whereby each canton was practically independent, except in regard to matters of foreign policy. Swiss history from 1815 till 1830, when a new revolution broke out, corresponds closely in its general outlines with the course of events in France during the Restoration period.

The position of the Church in Switzerland varied very much in the different cantons. In Geneva, for example,

no Catholic could permanently settle, or become owner of land, nor could mass be celebrated except at the risk of incurring the severest penalties. In the Catholic cantons the people were devoted to their religion, but the spirit of religious Liberalism, imported from Austria and Germany, had infected many of the clergy and the nobility, and had induced them to lend a ready ear to the supporters of the Josephist reforms. In 1797 there were thirteen cantons, seven of which—Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwälden, Zug, Freiburg, and Solothurn—were Catholic; while among the new states, which were not admitted to the full cantonal privileges, but were only allies, and the districts which were not even allies, but subject to the cantons, the Catholics had a fair proportion. As the votes in the Diet were by cantons without reference to the population, and as a bare majority could not pass laws on religious matters, the Catholic states were perfectly secure against religious oppression. Hence it is, that the Catholic cantons took the lead in opposing the French invaders, and that the clergy, men like Styger and Herzog, led them in their struggle against the foreigner.

The success of the revolution in 1797 and 1798 put an end to the old constitution and with it to the favourable position occupied by the Catholic cantons. The Catholics formed only about two-fifths of the whole population, and, hence, in the new Chamber of Deputies they were certain to be in a permanent minority. Besides, the old Catholic foundations, the lands of the bishop of Basle, and the monastic territories were secularised, and one of the clauses of the constitution sanctioning mixed marriages gave great offence to the Catholic party. But, on the other hand, it is only just to note that the new Helvetic constitution guaranteed complete religious liberty, so that if the Catholics lost a great deal they gained much in the Protestant cantons by the introduction of religious toleration. In the Mediation negotiated by Napoleon in 1803, the

property of the monasteries was restored. But in arranging the new cantons Napoleon prepared the way for the disgraceful contentions of later years by joining together in the one canton districts hostile to each other both in politics and religion. The old Catholic cantons, Uri, Schwyz and Unterwälden, were considerably reduced in population and in power by the withdrawal from them of the territories that had been subject to them.

The constitution of 1815 suffered from the same defect. The twenty-two cantons of the Confederation were put together without any reference to the religious or political feelings of the people. This was in truth the weakness of all the territorial arrangements drawn up by the Congress of Vienna. The constitution, however, guaranteed the possessions of the monasteries and chapters, and provided that they should be subject to the same taxation as other proprietors. In the Diet religious equilibrium was maintained by giving the Catholics $9\frac{1}{2}$ votes against $9\frac{1}{2}$ conceded to the Reformed Cantons, while three votes, those of St. Gall, Aargau and Glarus, were mixed. These three latter determined the vote of the Diet.

The religious organisation of Switzerland, also, required careful attention. The Church in Switzerland had been dependent upon the archbishops of Besançon, Mentz, and Milan, while the dioceses were mixed up with the neighbouring German and Austrian bishoprics. A nuncio had been resident in Lucerne since 1785. The wars of the revolution made it impossible that these ecclesiastical arrangements could be allowed to continue; but while all felt the necessity of re-arranging the ecclesiastical boundaries, yet the jealousy between the different cantons made any satisfactory arrangement almost impossible. The three great Catholic Cantons—Uri, Schwyz and Unterwälden—were subject to Constance, and as von Wessenberg was the vicar capitular there it was almost necessary for the Pope to remove them from the jurisdiction of Constance. In 1814 he appointed a vicar apostolic for these cantons, but

before the arrangement for the establishment of the see could be carried out the vicar apostolic died in 1819.

New dioceses were established at different periods according as the consent of the cantons could be secured, till finally it was resolved in 1841 to divide Switzerland into six dioceses—Basle, Lausanne and Geneva, Sitten, Chur, St. Gall (the latter a separate see since 1845), and an Italian bishopric in the canton of Ticino. The arrangements for the election of bishops varied according to the terms of the concordat concluded with the Holy See in connection with the establishment of the bishopric.

The education of the clergy and the maintenance of Catholic educational establishments also required serious attention. The great Catholic schools at Freiburg, Sitten, and Solothurn were practically destroyed. Lucerne remained, but many of the professors there were rightly under suspicion, while the seminaries of Milan and Meersburg, where a great part of the ecclesiastical students had been prepared for the ministry, had gone down in the wars of the Revolution. On the other hand, many of the clergy had been trained in the universities of Austria and Bavaria, and returned to their own country filled with the reform ideas then current in these establishments. They were opposed to the Papacy, to the religious orders, to clerical celibacy and vows, to the independence of the ecclesiastical in face of the secular authority, and, in a word, to the constitution and tradition of the Catholic Church. These men, supported by a section of the Catholic noblemen who held the same views, joined hands with the partisans of the Reformed Church in their campaign against the Catholic religion.

Meanwhile, a strong Liberal movement against the Restoration constitution in 1815 had begun to threaten the peace of Switzerland. The country had been the home of political refugees from nearly every country in Europe, and these men encouraged the formation of a party in Switzerland pledged to introduce liberal constitutions into the individual cantons, and to demand

a revision of the Federal Pact of 1815. The overthrow of the Bourbon régime in Paris in 1830, which, from the peculiar circumstances of the case, was at once a victory for political and anti-religious Liberalism, paved the way for a similar revolution in Switzerland. Zurich placed itself at the head of the Liberal movement, and soon most of the cantons were obliged by popular insurrections to accept a change of constitution.

This change having been effected in the individual cantons, the next step was to demand a revision of the Federal Pact. In March, 1832, the representatives of seven Liberal cantons met and formed a league in favour of Federal reform, and a few months later the Confederation of Sarnen was formed between the six Conservative cantons to oppose any revision. As the Liberal movement was also anti-Catholic in its character, the Catholic states naturally took the lead in resisting its demands. The majority of the people of Switzerland were also against any revision, as was shown in 1833, when the question was submitted to a popular vote.

The triumph of Liberalism in 1830 was the signal for attack upon the Catholic Church. Unfortunately, the greatest danger was to be apprehended from the spread of wrong opinions among leading Catholic clergymen and laymen who allied themselves with the Liberal party. In 1832 Fuchs, a young priest in Rapperswil, created a storm by a series of sermons in which he laid down that the constitution of the Church was purely democratic, that the difference between the powers of the clergy and the laity in spiritual matters was of human origin, that the Church should be governed by synods elected by a popular vote, and that clerical celibacy and monastic vows should be abolished as being opposed to the spirit of the age. The bishop of Chur and St. Gall suspended him, but the civil authorities took him under their protection. On the death of the bishop in 1833 the bishopric and chapter were suppressed. Fuchs was brought to Lucerne, where he prepared the Articles of the Baden Conference.

To make common cause against the lawful demands of the Catholic Church the representatives of Lucerne, St. Gall, Solothurn, Berne, Thurgau and Aargau met at Baden in the Canton of Aargau in January, 1834. They formulated their views in the fourteen Articles of Conference. According to these no Papal or episcopal letters or instructions could be published until the civil authorities of the canton had given their consent; and the seminaries, the synods and the clergy, the trial of matrimonial causes, the question of mixed marriages, the number of holidays, the appointment to benefices, &c., should be placed under the control of the canton. The exemption of the monastic houses was to be abolished, and the clergy obliged to swear an oath of allegiance to the laws of the canton under pain of removal from their offices. From the opening speech of the president it was clear that the aim of the Conference was to destroy the influence of the Pope in Switzerland, and to prepare the way for the establishment of an independent National Church.

These Articles opened the eyes of the Catholics. They realised that the triumph of Liberalism meant the extinction of the Catholic religion. Gregory XVI. solemnly condemned the Articles by his Encyclical of 17th May, 1835. The Catholics declared that they could never accept them, but in spite of their protests the Articles were embodied in the laws of several cantons. In Glarus the government demanded that the clergy should swear allegiance to the new constitution, although it contained a law binding them to communicate to the civil government information about political crimes received by them in the confessional. Nor were the priests allowed to hold any correspondence with their bishop. In many of the cantons the monasteries were impoverished by special taxation, especially in Aargau, where the government used every means in its power to force the priests to disobey and dishonour their bishop.

Naturally, too, the Liberal party made every effort to capture the education of the country. It must be ad-

mitted that under the influence of men like Pestalozzi, Fellenberg, Wehrli and Girard, the educational system of Switzerland had been wonderfully developed, and in many respects, especially in regard to object lessons and technical instruction, it set an example to the rest of Europe. But the aim of the Liberal party was to drive out religion from the schools, or rather by false teaching to destroy the religious beliefs of the rising generation. The clerical teachers in the Catholic schools were dismissed and replaced by teachers trained in some of the newly-founded training colleges. The Catholic school of Lucerne was filled with Liberal teachers, while in that of St. Gall some of the professors openly attacked the Catholic Church in their course of lectures.

The Liberal party had, however, pushed forward their policy too rapidly, and as a result they soon found themselves face to face with a general opposition. The Catholic Conservative party secured control of Schwyz in 1834, and invited (1836) the Jesuits to open a school where the Catholic boys of Switzerland might be trained without danger to their faith. Zurich had been the leader in the Liberal movement, but when the government showed its anti-Christian tendency in 1839 by appointing David Strauss, the author of the rationalistic *Life of Christ*, to a chair of theology in the university the reformed pastors headed the revolt and the Liberal government was overthrown. In 1840 Valais followed suit and re-established the rule of the Conservatives.

In Lucerne the Catholics, though in a majority, were sorely oppressed by the dominant Liberal faction. Under the leadership of Joseph Leu of Ebersol and others they plucked up courage and demanded the repeal of the Articles of Conference, the recall of the Jesuits, and the establishment of a democratic constitution. Their demands were rejected in 1839, but they persisted, and on the question being submitted to a popular vote the Liberal government was overthrown, and Lucerne was once more in Catholic hands. The nuncio, who had been expelled in 1834, returned in triumph.

In Aargau, where the Catholics formed a strong minority, and where the Liberal government was exceptionally hostile, the course of events in Zurich and Lucerne had a very disturbing influence. The Catholics and Conservatives demanded a revision of the constitution, but the Liberal party was too powerful, and the revision effected in 1841 produced no radical improvement. The Catholics protested and refused to swear allegiance to the new constitution. Their leaders were arrested, and immediately disturbances broke out in different quarters, which were with difficulty repressed. The monasteries were accused of having instigated the insurrection, and in 1841 the government, in defiance of the 12th clause of the Federal Pact of 1815, took the fatal resolve of suppressing all the monasteries in Aargau.

This open infringement of the constitution roused the Catholics of Switzerland. The people, the bishops, the Pope, and the representatives of Austria protested, and the Diet was obliged to denounce the action of the Aargau government as opposed to the Federal constitution. In April, 1841, the Diet decreed that Aargau should recall the edict of suppression, and threatened that in case of refusal the necessary measures should be taken to maintain the Articles of the Federal Pact. But Aargau, supported by some of the other cantons, refused to do more than restore three religious houses. The question was hotly debated throughout the entire country. Diet after Diet was convoked, but no settlement could be arrived at till, in the end, in spite of the protests of the Catholic cantons, the Diet declared itself satisfied with the offer of satisfaction made by Aargau (Aug., 1843). The Catholic cantons, feeling that the Diet was unwilling and unable to secure the maintenance of the rights granted to the Catholics by the constitution, determined to take measures to defend themselves. In 1843 the representatives of Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwälden, Zug, Freiburg and Valais met together and concluded a league for the defence of Catholic interests in Switzerland.

This was an extreme step, but it is well to note that in forming a separate league the Catholic cantons were only following the example that had been set by the Liberals in 1832, and that their action could not be fairly denounced as unconstitutional by men who had condoned the violence done to the constitution by the authorities of Aargau. Nor was there the slightest danger of war had not another incident occurred at this time to inflame the angry feelings of both parties. The Catholics under the leadership of Leu and Meyer had secured the government of Lucerne in 1841. They were naturally anxious to obtain Catholic higher education for their children, and on account of the dangerously liberal principles that had been long current amongst the professorial staff of Lucerne, Leu wished to have the Jesuits placed in charge of the Catholic College. The Jesuits had been in Valais since 1804, and in Freiburg since 1818. In Valais they were highly popular, while their school in Freiburg became a great Catholic centre. But the members of the Society were detested by the Liberal party, Protestant and Catholic; and more especially at this particular juncture when the Liberal party were deeply incensed against them on account of the complete defeat sustained by the "Young Switzerland Party" in their attempt to capture the government of Valais.

The Jesuits were recalled to Lucerne in October, 1844, and, as the Diet refused to take any steps to exclude them, the Liberal party determined to have recourse to arms. In December, 1844, a large force, recruited principally from the cantons of Berne and Aargau, marched on Lucerne, but suffered a bad defeat at the hands of the Catholics. Berne demanded that the Diet should decree the expulsion of the Jesuits from Switzerland, but the majority refused to take any part in such a project. The Diet adjourned till the 5th April, but in the meantime bands were being trained in the neighbouring states, and every preparation being made without any pretence of concealment for a second and more successful attack on Lucerne. The Catholic cantons of Uri, Schwyz, and

Unterwälden determined to support Lucerne in case of attack. The Liberals were repulsed (31st March, 1845) with great slaughter, and the gallant people of Lucerne received the congratulations of the Catholics of Switzerland. The cry was raised by their opponents that the people of Lucerne had treated their prisoners with great cruelty, and while the passions on both sides were highly inflamed, the news of the assassination of Joseph Leu on the night of the 20th July, 1845, was spread through Switzerland.

Seeing that the Diet was unable to preserve the peace, the Catholic cantons determined to protect themselves. The representatives of Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwälden, Zug, Freiburg, and Valais met in December, 1845, and pledged themselves to support each other against attack. They established a council of war and made arrangements for levying troops and providing the necessary expenses. This was undoubtedly an extreme step, but the Catholic cantons justified their action by appealing to the fourth article of the Federal Pact of 1815, which permitted any canton threatened with attack to seek the assistance of the neighbouring cantons. The danger in this case was evidently present, and the Diet was unable or unwilling to take the necessary measures. In face of such breaches of the constitution as the seizure of the monasteries in Aargau, and the attempts to capture Lucerne by force of arms, it is hard to blame the Catholic cantons for combining in self-defence. Besides, it is well to remember that the representatives of the Liberal cantons had set the example of such private combinations by their confederation of 1832.

The Radical Liberal party who had secured Zurich and Berne were far from displeased at this Catholic confederation. To their programme of expelling the Jesuits and revising the Federal constitution was now joined the demand for the immediate suppression of the Sonderbund or Separate League. The Diet was called upon to interfere, but during the year 1846 nothing definite was

done. The powers that had guaranteed the Pact of 1815, but more especially Austria and France, intervened on behalf of the Sonderbund, while, in addition to this, the Radical party in the Diet was still in a minority. Geneva, however, and St. Gall were captured by the Liberals, and the votes of these two cantons secured the triumph of their party in the Diet. The new Diet met in July, 1847, and, after a short debate (19th-20th July) the dissolution of the Sonderbund was decreed, a commission to prepare a revision of the Federal Pact was appointed, and the Catholic cantons were requested to expel the Jesuits from their territories.

The Diet adjourned till the 18th October, and in the meantime both parties were making their final preparations for the struggle. The session opened on the appointed day, but from the first there was little hope that a peaceable settlement could be secured. The representatives of the Catholic cantons having renewed their demands left the Hall of Assembly, led by Meyer, the spokesman of Lucerne. The Diet determined to suppress the Sonderbund by force, and appointed General Dufour, a capable soldier who had learned the art of war in the school of Napoleon, General-in-Chief of the Federal forces.

The Catholic cantons hurriedly assembled their forces and entrusted the command to General von Salis-Soglio. The population of the Catholic cantons was much smaller than that of the opposing states, and their army was consequently insignificant compared with the forces at the disposal of General Dufour. They relied upon the intervention of Austria and France, but Lord Palmerston contrived to delay the intervention in the hope that the Sonderbund might be speedily suppressed, and that then the powers should be obliged to accept accomplished facts.

With this object in view General Dufour resolved to bring the war to an end without delay. Freiburg was taken on the 14th November, and the main army of the Sonderbund defeated at Gislikon and the Rooter Berg

(23rd Nov.), Lucerne was captured on the 24th November, and in a few weeks the other cantons made their submission, Valais being the last to yield. The powers—France, Austria, Prussia, England and Russia—at last intervened, but their intervention, as had been expected, was too late. The Sonderbund had fallen, and the victors were determined to destroy the supremacy of the cantons and set up a new Liberal constitution. In January, France, Austria, Russia, and Prussia addressed a second note to the Diet insisting on the observance of the Federal Compact of 1815, the restoration of the independence of the Catholic cantons, and the withdrawal from them of the army of occupation. Such a request must have been complied with had not the Revolution burst over Europe in the early months of 1848, and the individual states had enough to engage their attention at home without intervening in the affairs of Switzerland. The Catholics of Switzerland were, therefore, at the mercy of their conquerors.

The Jesuits were expelled and Liberal governments forced upon the Catholic cantons. The latter were obliged to pay a war indemnity of six million francs. Many of the monasteries in Lucerne, Freiburg, and Thurgau were suppressed, and their possessions confiscated by the cantons. A new constitution was proclaimed in September, 1848. The sovereignty of the individual cantons was guaranteed, but in a restricted form. Henceforth, the Federal authority alone had the right of proclaiming war, of concluding treaties, and of interfering in case of disputes between cantons. Under the same authority were placed the customs, coinage, postal arrangements, the weights and measures, and the army contingents supplied by the cantons. The legislative power of the Confederation was entrusted to two Chambers, the one elected by the Swiss citizens, the other by the cantons; while the executive power was to be wielded by a Federal Council consisting of seven members elected by the Federal Assembly, and presided over by the President of the Confederation. Beyond

doubt many of the changes introduced by the constitution of 1848 were really desirable, and tended to develop and strengthen the resources of the country.

Naturally, however, the Catholics, smarting under the pain of a severe defeat, and galled by the harsh treatment inflicted on them by the victors, did not take kindly to the new arrangement. It placed them in a position of apparently permanent inferiority. Besides, too, the Jesuits had been driven out, the monasteries suppressed, and Bishop Marilley, of Lausanne, was expelled from the country in 1848, and was not allowed to return till 1856. Yet, on the other hand, the constitution of 1848 was not without its good results for the Catholic Church. It guaranteed religious liberty throughout Switzerland, and permitted Catholics to settle freely in Protestant cantons, or Protestants in Catholic cantons. The result was that many Catholics began to leave the poor districts of their native cantons and to settle in places where for three hundred years none of their co-religionists were permitted to settle. The result of this was that in Basle, Geneva, Lausanne, Schaffhausen, where till then few Catholics could be found, strong communities sprang up, and, as shall be seen, these cities, once strongholds of Calvinism, might rather be described at the present time as centres of Catholic life.

CHAPTER IV

THE CHURCH IN BELGIUM AND HOLLAND

(a) BELGIUM

Seignobos, *op. cit.*, Chapter VIII., De Gerlache, *Histoire du Royaume des Pays Bas*, 3^e éd., 3 vols., 1859. Terlinden, *Guillaume I., roi des Pays Bas et l'Église Catholique en Belgique*, 1814-1840, 2 vols., Paris, 1906. Claessens, *La Belgique Chrétienne depuis la conquête Française jusqu'à nos Jours*, 1794-1880, Brussels, 1883. Balau, *Soixante-dix ans d'Histoire Contemporaine de Belgique*, 4^e éd., Louvain, 1890. Gagliani, *Droit Civil Ecclésiastique Belge*, Brussels, 1903.

By the peace of Utrecht in 1713 the Spanish Netherlands which had remained faithful to the House of Habsburg were transferred to Austria, and were administered by a governor representing the Emperor. As the price of their loyalty they insisted on the maintenance of their own peculiar constitution, and they managed their own affairs without much interference from the Emperor or his representative. Joseph II., however, was determined to unite the whole imperial dominions—Austria proper, Hungary, the Tyrol, and the Netherlands—into one strong kingdom, with one central authority, and with a uniform constitution and code of laws. By promulgating edicts without consulting their wishes he gave great offence to the proud-spirited people of the Netherlands, warmly attached, as they were, to their old corporative institutions.

Their religious susceptibilities were also very keenly wounded by his efforts to introduce the Austrian reforms into the Netherlands. In 1781 he published the Edict of Toleration in spite of the advice of the Council, and

confirmed to the dissenters of the province not merely the toleration of their religious opinions, which they had long enjoyed in practice, but placed them on practically the same footing as their Catholic neighbours. This was opposed to the principles of the constitution of the country, and naturally gave great offence. In 1782 he declared the mixed marriages valid, and ordered the curés to publish the banns and assist at the ceremony (1782). He prohibited the religious orders from communicating with their superiors outside the province, and placed them under the jurisdiction of the bishop. But what roused the Catholics more than any other measure was the suppression of the seminaries and the establishment of one of the central seminaries at Louvain. Cardinal von Frankenberg, who, up till this time, had shown himself rather weak in his attitude towards the reform movement, published a protest which was approved by the bishops and clergy.

The revolution broke out in 1789, and the Austrians were quickly driven out of the country. But the men who led the revolution were of very different views both politically and religiously. The men of Liège, who had overthrown the authority of their prince bishop, were of the genuine French revolutionary school, while the remainder of the country was intensely Catholic, and was in no frame of mind to make war on the Church or to permit the excesses of Paris to be repeated in Brussels. Jansenism and Gallicanism and Febronianism and Josephism found few supporters in Belgium. The extreme party known as the Vonckists, from the name of their principal leader, was expelled from Brussels, a step which lost for Belgium the aid of the French Revolutionists, while at the same time the new government was weakened by internal dissensions. In these circumstances the Austrian troops sent by Leopold II. had little difficulty in re-establishing the supremacy of Austria in Belgium and Liège (1790).

The French army under Dumouriez having defeated the Austrians at Jemmappes occupied Belgium in 1792,

but they were driven out in the following year, and it was only after the victory of Fleurus that the Belgian Netherlands came permanently under the power of the French. It was then formally incorporated with France and organised as part of the territory of the Republic (1795). The Directory insisted on introducing into Belgium the French laws passed against the Church. The religious orders, except those devoted to teaching and to the care of the sick, were suppressed, the communes were forbidden to contribute to the support of religion, and the clergy received a command to publish the declaration of loyalty to France, and to recommend the people to accept the new rule. Many of the clergy refused to obey, and were acquitted by the tribunals.

Gradually the persecution became more violent. All the religious houses without exception were seized, and the occupants driven out; the seminaries and chapters were suppressed; the university of Louvain, which was rightly regarded as hostile to the pretensions of France, was closed, and the clergy were required not alone to make a declaration of loyalty but to testify under oath their hatred of royalty. Those who refused were banished, their churches closed, and the faithful condemned to worship in the fields or in private houses, very often without the presence of any minister of religion. The bishops of Belgium had been obliged to flee the country, and, like their French brethren, found a generous welcome in England.

Urged on by the persecution, and especially by the conscription law of 1798, the Belgian peasants rose in revolt, but they had no arms and no leaders of experience, and were speedily reduced by the overwhelming forces of the French (1799). The clergy were accused of having encouraged the rebellion, and the decree went forth that they should be banished *en masse*. Many of them escaped the vigilance of their pursuers, and only about four hundred were seized and sent away. With the advent of Napoleon to power in 1799 the policy was considerably modified, though serious difficulties still

arose in connection with the oath of fidelity to the government, which had been condemned by the Belgian bishops resident in England.

The conclusion of the concordat in 1801 marked a new stage in the history of the Church in Belgian territory. The solemn proclamation of the agreement on the Feast of Pentecost (1802) was everywhere received with the greatest satisfaction. A new organisation of the dioceses was arranged as in France. Instead of the nine bishoprics into which the country had been divided hitherto, five episcopal sees were established—namely, Mechlin, Tournai, Ghent, Namur, and Liège. The arrangements for the appointments to the new sees and for the future appointment of bishops were similar to those accepted for France. Of the old pre-Revolution hierarchy only four were still alive, and these had their home in England. In reply to the request of Pius VII. they forwarded their resignations, and the new bishops were duly appointed. A small section, as in France, refused to acknowledge the concordat on the ground that the concessions had been secured from the Pope by violence, and these formed a special sect.

The bishops appointed by Napoleon were distinguished rather for their servility to the whims of the First Consul and Emperor than for their zeal for religion. They were too willing to allow themselves to become the mere political tools of the Emperor, and to sacrifice anything rather than incur his enmity. For this reason the bishops were severely attacked by some of the clergy led by a priest named Stevens, and a new sect, the Stevenists, sprang up amongst the population of Brabant, Flanders and Namur. Napoleon made every effort to capture Stevens, whose pamphlets, though too bitter, were not without their influence in awakening notions of independence among the Belgian bishops. With the downfall of Napoleon, Stevens returned, was received into the diocese of Namur, and made his submission to the Holy See.*

* A. Kenis, *Eene Godsdienstsecte in België of Het Zoogezegde Stevenismus*, Tweede Uitgaaf Rousselare, 1903.

The policy of servility to Napoleon was, however, discarded by the Belgian bishops when the news of the seizure of the Temporal States and the arrest of Pius VII. reached Belgium in 1809. The clergy were not slow to denounce the Emperor as a tyrant, and the bishops, especially De Broglie and Hirn, set them a noble example of independence. At the Council of Paris, called by Napoleon in 1811, to arrange some method of appointing to the vacant bishoprics without the approval of the Pope, these two bishops incurred the enmity of Napoleon by their uncompromising attitude of opposition, and on the day of the dissolution of the Council, they were arrested and thrown into prison. Napoleon appointed vicars to their dioceses, but the clergy refused to recognise them, and numbers of the priests were arrested.

In these circumstances it is not strange that the fall of Napoleon was hailed with satisfaction, and that all parties breathed a sigh of satisfaction when the armies of the allies forced the French to evacuate Belgium. In 1814 the allies appointed a provisional government under the Duc de Beaufort, and the ordinances against the Church fell into abeyance. But the joy of the Belgians was shortlived, for they soon discovered that the great powers of Europe were resolved to unite the whole Netherlands, both upper and lower, in one kingdom under the House of Orange. The aim of the powers in making such an arrangement was to establish a strong barrier against the spread of French influence in the Netherlands. The necessity of some such measure of precaution was obvious, but the union of two peoples differing so widely in religion and temperament as the Dutch and the Belgians was not likely to work harmoniously. Such a step, however, was on a level with the complete disregard for national sentiment that characterised nearly every territorial arrangement decreed by the Congress of Vienna. In defiance of the wishes of the Belgians the terms of the Treaty of London, according to which Belgium should be united to Holland, were

approved by the Congress, and William I. was proclaimed king (1815).

The population of Belgium at this period was about three millions, nearly all of whom were ardent Catholics, while Holland at the same period had a population of only two millions and a half. The vast majority of the Dutch were strongly attached to the Calvinist sect. The situation, therefore, required careful handling, and the king was most unsuited to the work of winning the sympathy of his new Catholic subjects and of allaying their annoyance at their apparent subjection to a nation numerically their inferior. He was by nature a tyrant, and by religion an intolerant bigot, as had been seen long before in his treatment of the Catholic institutions in Fulda. He selected as his ministers Dutchmen and Calvinists, and he confided to the same class nearly every office of trust. In preparing the new constitution the Belgians or Catholics were not consulted, and no effort was made to induce them to modify their demands in view of the changes of the preceding twenty-five years.

It was not wonderful, therefore, that the new constitution should have been displeasing to the inhabitants of Belgium. Notwithstanding many apparently liberal concessions, the king retained in his own hands an almost absolute power; while, in addition to this, Holland, with a population much less than that of Belgium, had an equal number of representatives in the States General. Naturally enough, this was displeasing to the Belgians, who cherished dearly the liberty of their old pre-revolution corporative institutions, and was especially galling to the advanced section who had come into touch with the French republican school. But the new articles of the constitution dealing with religion most deeply offended the Catholic feelings of the people. They had expected that things should be restored to their old position, but, instead of this, all the peculiar privileges of the Catholic Church were abolished, the clergy were no longer recognised as a distinct order, and equal protection was guaranteed to all religious denominations.

This was apparently in conflict with the declarations made by William I. previous to his proclamation as king of Holland and Belgium, and the bishops of Namur, Ghent and Tournai, together with the vicars capitular of Mechlin and Liège, made an earnest representation to the king against the concession of equal rights to all religions in a country that was almost entirely Catholic. The constitution was submitted to the Notables of Belgium, and, after long discussion, was rejected by a substantial majority. William I., however, disregarded their decision, and proclaimed the constitution.

Many of the Belgian Catholics appealed to the bishops to express an authoritative opinion on the legality of swearing allegiance to a constitution that granted equal rights to all kinds of Dissenters, and in reply the bishops of Belgium issued the famous *Doctrinal Decision* (1815), condemning the oath of allegiance as illegal. Their decision was not, however, unanimous. de Mèan, prince bishop of Liège, consented to take the oath to the great scandal of many Catholics, and as a reward for his subserviency the king appointed him to the archbishopric of Mechlin, and sent an urgent demand to Rome for the necessary confirmation. The bishops submitted their *Doctrinal Decision* to the Pope for his approval, while at the same time William I. insisted on its condemnation. In May, 1816, Pius VII. addressed a brief to de Broglie, the bishop of Ghent, congratulating the hierarchy of Belgium on their defence of religion, while at the same time the confirmation of the appointment to Mechlin was deferred till de Mèan should make a declaration that in taking the oath of allegiance he understood by protection of all religions only civil protection, and wished to bind himself to nothing opposed to the tenets of the Catholic Church.

William I. having learned that the decision of Rome would be unfavourable resolved to reduce the Catholics to submission by brute force. In May, 1816, he revived the Organic Articles of Napoleon I., and ordered the institution of criminal proceedings against de Broglie,

the bishop of Ghent, for having held communication with Rome and for having published Papal briefs without the knowledge or approval of the civil authorities. The case was tried before the Court of Assizes in Brussels, and the bishop was condemned to expulsion from the country (1817). The king maintained that such a decision deprived the bishop of his jurisdiction, and that the chapter should appoint a successor, but the majority of the priests remained loyal to their bishop, nor could they be detached from this position by any species of flattery or persecution. The death of the bishop in Paris in 1821 opened a way out of the difficulty, and in the same year the government declared that the oath of allegiance regarded only civil matters, a step which, if it had been taken a few years earlier, might have saved Belgium from much strife and bitterness.

The king determined, however, to accomplish his object by subjecting the ecclesiastical affairs to a special government Commission, and by wrenching the education of the country, even the education of the theological students, from the control of the Church. The universities were already in the hands of the state, and by a series of regulations (1821-1825) the free secondary colleges were practically suppressed, and the secondary education vested in the state. The next important step, naturally enough, was to secure the training of the theological students, and the old reforms of Joseph II. suggested a ready means of accomplishing such a project. In imitation of the central seminaries the government established a Philosophical College at Louvain in 1825, and ordained that all ecclesiastical students should attend the courses of this institution for two years previous to their admission into the theological seminary. This unwarranted interference of Protestant Holland in the education of the Catholic priesthood roused even the too conciliatory archbishop of Mechlin to energetic opposition, and he was ably supported by the bishops, clergy and Catholic laymen of Belgium. Neither their protests nor those of the Holy See were of any avail, and

the government proceeded to select professors, to arrange the courses, and to offer scholarships and privileges likely to attract students to the new Philosophical College.

This action, coupled with the suppression of the Catholic colleges and schools, roused the bitter opposition of the Belgians. The death of the bishop of Namur in 1826 left the archbishop of Mechlin the sole surviving bishop of Belgium, and it was feared that the government meant to secure the establishment of a hierarchy independent of Rome. The Catholic deputies laid a statement of their grievances before the king in 1826, and when no steps were taken to meet their wishes they refused to vote the annual budget. This step forced the government to conclude a concordat with the Holy See in 1827,* whereby a new organisation of the dioceses was arranged, the method of appointing bishops, namely, by the election of the chapters with a royal veto, was agreed to, while, on the other hand, Rome stipulated for the withdrawal of the ordinances commanding the ecclesiastical students to attend the Philosophical College.

The terms of the concordat, though satisfactory to the Catholics, displeased the Calvinist subjects of William I. To appease their indignation he delayed to carry out the concessions promised, and it was not till the budget had been rejected a second time in 1829, that attendance at the courses of the Philosophical College was declared non-obligatory. Finally, when the opposition grew more formidable and threatening, the College was suppressed in 1830. The appointments to the vacant bishoprics were carried out in 1828 and 1829.

Besides the religious oppressions the Belgians had other reasons for detesting the rule of the House of Orange. The Belgian provinces, with a population far larger than that of Holland, were treated as a subject country. In the States General Holland, with its two and a half millions, had as many representatives as the

* Nussi, *Conventiones*, XXIX.

three million Belgians, an arrangement, which, owing to the attitude of the deputies from Antwerp and Ghent, left the Belgians in a perpetual minority. All the great public establishments, the bank, the military schools, and the various government departments were in Holland, and, as a consequence, much of the revenue raised by the taxation of Belgian agriculturists went to enrich the Dutch merchants and manufacturers. But what wounded most deeply the national spirit of the Belgians was the efforts made by the government to suppress their language and to force them to adopt that of the Dutch. In 1819 a law was passed making a knowledge of Dutch obligatory on all officials of the government, and in 1822 it was ordered that only the Dutch language should be employed in all official acts and in the courts of law. The clergy, the nobility, the lawyers, the press, and the people were united in their resistance to such stupid disregard of national sentiment.

But the Belgians were hampered in their resistance by political divisions. Even then, there were two strong political parties in the country, the one Liberal, impregnated with the views of the French revolutionary school, the other, Catholic and Conservative. The Liberals demanded full freedom of worship and complete liberty of the press. The Catholics, as is evident from their attitude towards the constitution, did not accept such a programme. But the persecution of the Catholic Church in Belgium, and the influence of the de Lamennais school, with its motto of a free church in a free state, led to a change in the attitude of the Catholics, and made them not unwilling to join forces with the Liberals in a strong campaign against the Dutch oppression.

The two parties, Catholic and Liberal, came to an understanding in 1828, and formed the *Union* against their common enemy, the Dutch Government. At first they contented themselves with peaceful methods, especially the presentation of petitions to the king for a redress of their grievances from all parts of the country,

but as these were disregarded, the control of the movement passed from the Conservative into the Liberal hands, and affairs began to wear a serious aspect. The bishops had foreseen such a development, and, hence, had warned the Catholics against the *Union*, and now, when violence was likely to ensue, they used their efforts to keep the movement on the lines of peaceful agitation. But their counsels were rejected, and both the Catholics and the Liberals aided by the clergy made no secret that they were determined at all costs to put an end to the tyranny of Holland.

The Revolution in Paris in 1830 encouraged the Belgian patriots to renewed efforts. The state of Belgium became so threatening that Prince Frederick, the eldest son of the king, occupied Brussels with an army of ten thousand men. The National Party was active in arranging its plan of campaign, and on the 24th September, 1830, the conflict between the citizens and the troops began. The people of Brussels, reinforced by volunteers from the neighbouring districts, drove out the troops from the capital after three days' hard fighting, and within a week the Dutch were compelled to evacuate the southern provinces of Belgium. Only the fortresses of Maestricht and Antwerp remained in their hands. When it was too late William I. hastened to make all possible concessions. He renounced the subjection of Belgium to Holland, retaining only the personal unity of the two countries under the one king, but his proposals were rejected by the provisional government, and on the 4th October Belgium was declared an independent nation. The attitude of the powers which had guaranteed the arrangement of 1815 was anxiously awaited by both sides. Russia and Prussia were not unwilling to support the king of Holland in his resolve to reconquer the country by force, but, on the other hand, France and England were on the side of an independent Belgium. By the joint action of France and England a Conference of the powers (1831) was held at London to regulate Belgian affairs, and in 1832,

Belgium was recognised as an independent neutral state.

William I. was unwilling to await their decision. When the armistice imposed upon Holland by the powers expired in November, 1830, he made preparations to begin the war, but a French army marched to the assistance of the Belgians and drove back the Dutch, leaving only the fortress of Antwerp in their hands. In 1832 the French returned once more, and captured Antwerp by siege. William I. still refused to recognise Belgium, and retained in his hands the forts commanding the Scheldt, while Belgium retained the portions of Limburg and Luxemburg awarded by the London Conference to Holland. At last, in 1839 an agreement was arrived at, and Holland formally abandoned its claims to sovereignty over Belgium.

In the Revolution of 1830 the Liberal party in Belgium had taken the lead, and, as a result, the provisional government was almost entirely composed of their partisans, there being only one Catholic among its ten members. The Congress, however, convoked by the provisional government, was almost entirely Catholic. They decided by 173 votes against 13 to establish a constitutional and hereditary monarchy. The family of Orange being necessarily excluded they found some difficulty in selecting a king, but, at last, with the approval of England and France, they accepted Leopold of Coburg-Gotha, who ascended the throne in July, 1831. Two chambers, the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies elected by a limited suffrage, constituted the legislative body, while the local affairs were to be controlled by communal and departmental councils.

Probably the most delicate question with which the framers of the constitution were confronted was the relations between Church and State. A small section of the Liberal party wished to subject the ecclesiastical authority to the control of the government, but such a proposal was rejected by the Catholic party, and by the vast majority of the Liberals. The ideas put forward by

de Lamennais in France offered a solution pleasing to nearly all parties. The absolute liberty of worship was guaranteed, together with freedom of association and education. The state abandoned all claims to control in the appointments of bishops, canons, or curés, while at the same time it secured to the church the payment of a large share of the expenses of public worship, the exemption of the clergy from military service, the right to military honours in the processions, the possession of the cemeteries and the supervision of religious education in the schools.

During the early years (1830-1839) of the new kingdom of Belgium, so long as Holland maintained its attitude of hostility, politicians of all shades of opinions laid aside their differences, and in the spirit of the *Union* of 1828 presented an almost unbroken front to the common enemy. The ministry was composed of both Liberals and Catholics, and both parties preferred to compromise their differences rather than imperil their hard-won independence. The education question naturally demanded attention, but here, too, divided in their ideals as the two parties were, the reaction against the whole system of William I. was so great that Catholics and Liberals were agreed to effect a concordat. The policy of the Dutch government had been to establish a state monopoly in education, while the new Belgian constitution guaranteed liberty of teaching. Many Catholics took advantage of this to establish free primary schools throughout Belgium.

But both Catholics and Liberals were agreed that religious instruction must form part of the curriculum of the primary education, and, thus, an understanding, which was embodied in the law of 1842, was arrived at between them. According to this law, the religious instruction was made obligatory in all state schools, at which, of course, the children of the parents who objected were not bound to assist. This was passed without any opposition and was accepted by the Catholic clergy as a satisfactory, though not a perfect, solution.

The Liberal party was daily growing stronger, while the Catholics, feeling themselves secure with their large majority, neglected the work of organisation. Liège had for a long time been a centre strongly hostile to the ecclesiastical powers, and the universities of Liège and Ghent helped to spread the views of this party throughout the ranks of the middle classes. The masonic lodges showed themselves specially active in endeavouring to capture the Liberal organisation. As a result of these propagandist measures the union between the Catholics and Liberals was broken. A Liberal Congress met in 1846, and took measures to organise the Liberal vote in every constituency in Belgium. They put forward a programme of religious as well as political reforms, and amongst their religious reforms, were the assertion of the independence of the civil power, the control of education by state officials alone, and the liberation of the lower clergy. The first incident that roused the Catholics from their lethargy was the news that the Liberal party had secured a majority in the elections of 1847. The new Ministry, taking as its motto the independence of the civil power, began the conflict with the Catholic Church which continued to engage the attention of Belgian politicians throughout the nineteenth century.

(b) HOLLAND

Juste, *Le Soulèvement de la Hollande et la Fondation des Pays Bas*, 1870, Albers, *Geschiednis van het Herstel der Hiërarchie in de Nederlanden*, 2 vols., Utrecht, 1903-4. Gams, *Kirchengeschichte des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 3 Bde., 1853. Crouzil, *Situation Légale du Catholicisme en Hollande*, *Revue du Clergé Français*, Mai, 1903.

Holland, like Belgium, belonged to the Spanish province of the Netherlands. Unlike Belgium, however, the northern provinces of the Netherlands, Holland, Seeland, Geldern, Utrecht, Friesland, &c., were strongly Calvinist, and were, therefore, both from religious and political reasons, opposed to Spanish rule. In 1565 a

Confederation was formed to resist the introduction of the Inquisition into the Spanish Netherlands, to demand the withdrawal of the laws against heretics, and to maintain the rights and privileges of the States General of the Netherlands. The leaders of this conspiracy were William of Orange and the Count Egmont. The insurrection broke out in 1566, and the Duke of Alba was commissioned to suppress it, but his efforts were unavailing. The Duke of Parma, however, succeeded in detaching the Catholic provinces from the rebels, and in 1579 the Calvinist provinces of the North formed the Union of Utrecht, and in 1581 declared themselves completely independent of Spain. The war continued till 1609, when a truce was made for twelve years. Finally, by the peace of Westphalia in 1648, the independence of the Netherland Republic was recognised by Spain.

The Dutch had fought against Spain for religious freedom, while they themselves were more intolerant in their support of Calvinism than ever Spain had been in upholding Catholicity. A sharp persecution of the Catholic Church began in Holland, and lasted practically till the French Revolution. Even in the provinces like Brabant, where the Catholics were in the majority, the practice of the Catholic religion was forbidden, but the people remained loyal despite the efforts of the Calvinists and the Jansenists. As it was impossible for a bishop to reside in Holland, the ecclesiastical affairs were regulated by the Internuncio at Brussels and Cologne, or by vicars apostolic residing in Belgium and Germany. But Holland, like the neighbouring countries did not escape the influence of the rationalistic movements of the eighteenth century. The old orthodox formulæ of the Synod of Dordrecht no longer held undisputed sway over men's minds, and many educated Calvinists were inclined to meet the new Liberalism half way. The result was that the religious intolerance of former days grew less bitter, and from the year 1775 till the outbreak of the Revolution in 1795 the persecution of the Catholics was no longer violent.

The flight of William V. in 1795 was a hard blow to the orthodox Calvinist party, and in the National Assembly of 1796 a large number of Catholics appeared as deputies, especially from the province of Brabant. The "Patriot" party, who favoured the French ideas, and who had welcomed French assistance, were determined to put an end to the intolerance of the hitherto dominant Calvinists. The new Republican constitution of the year 1798 no longer recognised the Calvinist Church as the state Church, and conceded to the followers of the different religious bodies equal civil and political rights. The Catholics under the republic and under the rule of Louis Napoleon (1806-1810) made an effort to reorganise their forces, but naturally enough the years of persecution had had such an effect that for a lengthened period they remained without any considerable political influence. They founded the first ecclesiastical seminary at Warmond in the diocese of Haarlem, which was solemnly blessed by the Papal nuncio, Ciamberlani, in 1823. In 1806 a law regulating primary education was passed, according to which a Christian moral and historical education, but without dogmatic teaching, should be given in the schools. The Catholics, though not deeming such a system satisfactory, accepted it as a great step in advance and as the only means of destroying the Calvinist control of the schools.

The fall of Napoleon and the dismemberment of the French Empire led, as has been shown, to the establishment of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands under King William I. in 1815. The restoration of the House of Orange was hailed with joy by the orthodox Calvinist party, who hoped for a revival of the Calvinist state Church, with all its ancient prerogatives. But their hopes were doomed to disappointment. Though the king was not unwilling to meet their demands, yet the political necessities of the new kingdom forced him to concede a constitution whereby all religions were recognised as on equal footing. The law obliging the reign-

ing family to profess Calvinism was abolished, and the state as such was officially neutral in religious affairs. This was not an unreasonable position to take up in a country where the Catholics formed one-third of the whole population.

The king, who was a strong Calvinist, surrounded himself with Calvinist advisers, and from the very beginning of his reign took no opportunity of concealing his hatred of the Catholic Church. One of the first acts of his reign was the arrest and expulsion of the Papal representative in Holland, Ciamberlani, who had come to Mechlin to arrange a dispute between the clergy and the vicar general, Haleu. Ciamberlani was allowed to return only in 1823. The opposition of the Belgian clergy to the constitution did not tend to improve the condition of the Catholics of Holland, and all the laws framed against the Catholic Church in the Belgian provinces were administered far more rigorously in Holland. The establishment of the Philosophical College at Louvain, and the restrictions on the Belgian seminaries had a serious influence in Holland which derived its supply of clergy principally from the Belgian ecclesiastical colleges.

An effort was made to arrange a concordat in 1816. Mgr. Nassali arrived in Holland as the ambassador of the Holy See, but the negotiations broke down owing principally to a divergence of views about the nomination of the bishops. After spending a year endeavouring to arrange a settlement Mgr. Nassali left the country, and as the failure of the negotiations was attributed by the government to the resistance of the regular clergy, more especially of the Jesuits, a project was formed to expel them from the kingdom, but it fell through, as did also a scheme for the organisation of the Catholic religion on independent lines prepared by the Minister, van Maanen.

Leo XII., anxious to put an end to the state of disorder, addressed a personal letter to the king, and the negotiations were begun again between Mgr. Capaccini, the Papal ambassador, and de Visscher de Celles, repre-

sentative of Holland. An agreement was arrived at in 1828, according to which many of the terms of the French concordat were to be applied to the provinces of Holland; bishoprics, seminaries, and chapters were to be established, and an arrangement was arrived at about the future episcopal elections. In 1828 Mgr. Capaccini visited Holland in order to carry out the terms of the concordat, but met with violent opposition from the Jansenists, the Calvinists and the government. The outbreak of the Belgian Revolution in 1830 interrupted the negotiations. The Catholics of Holland, notwithstanding the fact of their being in a minority, were better organised and more active in defence of their rights than those of Belgium. Hence, the separation from Belgium did not leave the Catholics of Holland helpless in face of an overwhelming Calvinist majority. The Catholics had men of talent like Ten Bröek, Smits and Thüm, to give them an intelligent lead, and they had respectable journals and reviews, such as the *Godsdienstvriend* (*L'Ami de la religion*), the *Tiid* and the *Katholiek*, to help to form public opinion on the justice of their demands.

William I. abdicated the throne in 1840 and the accession of his son, William II. (1840-1849), seemed to promise an era of peace for the Catholic Church. Unlike his father, he was indifferent to Calvinism, and was regarded rather as a Liberal by the more orthodox members of the sect. Besides, the settlement of the difficulties between Holland and Belgium in 1839 gave grounds for hope that the terms of the concordat might be put into force at last. The provinces of Limburg and Luxemburg, awarded to Holland by the London Congress, and conceded to it by Belgium in 1839, had been already provided for by the erection of two vicariates apostolic at the request of William I. Mgr. Capaccini represented the Holy See, and at his request vicars apostolic were appointed to the dioceses of Bois-le-Duc, Ruremonde and Breda (1841), but the organisation of the northern provinces was still delayed.

William II. rather favoured the Catholics at the beginning of his reign, but under the influence of his advisers he soon assumed a hostile attitude. A new penal code was prepared in 1842, according to which every ecclesiastical document should be submitted to the royal *Placet* under pain of criminal proceedings, but the efforts of van Sur, the Minister of Catholic Worship, secured the withdrawal of the clause. The rapid spread of the Liberal revolutionary movement forced the Calvinists to lay aside their bitterness against the Catholic religion, and to join hands to some extent with the Catholics in trying to secure religious teaching in the primary schools.

Owing, however, to the increasing strength of the Liberal movement, the king was forced to appoint a Commission to prepare a revision of the constitution. The Catholics demanded the abolition of the *Placet*, freedom of association, and liberty of education. These were opposed by the Calvinist party, though in the end the *Placet* was definitely dropped, and freedom of association was guaranteed. The education question, however, still remained a subject of contention. As in many other countries of Europe, so, too, in Holland, the Revolution of 1848 had a good effect in freeing the Catholic Church from the shackles of state control. In the elections which followed the proclamation of the constitution the Catholics joined hands with the Liberal party and secured a Liberal majority in the Second Chamber.

The time seemed favourable to the Catholics to obtain a fixed ecclesiastical organisation, and especially the establishment of a hierarchy. The southern provinces had been governed since 1841 by three vicars apostolic, and the Northern provinces by the vice-superior of the Holland mission. Petitions began to pour in to the Holy See from the laity and the clergy for the establishment of a regular hierarchy, and after some preliminary negotiations with the government, the Pope consented to nullify the concordat of 1827 and the agreement of 1841. Arrangements were then made to establish an

archbishopric at Utrecht with the four suffragan sees, Haarlem, Breda, Bois-le-Duc and Ruremonde. By the brief, *Ex qua die* (March, 1853), Pius IX. confirmed this division, and appointed bishops to the newly established sees. Such a step raised a perfect storm of opposition from the Calvinist party. The press, the platform, and the pulpit were utilised to denounce this Roman aggression, and monster petitions were organised praying the king and the Chambers to prevent the establishment of the Catholic hierarchy. The Catholics remained perfectly calm during the commotion.

The new bishops took possession of their sees in April, 1853, and published their first pastorals. The government offered no opposition, although in deference to the wishes of the Jansenist sect attempts were made to induce Rome to change the sees of Utrecht and Haarlem to some other cities. The Pope refused to meet the wishes of the government, but as a concession he imposed on the bishops the oath of allegiance to the king. At the same time, the law regulating the inspection of religious societies caused considerable bitterness amongst the Catholics, and for a while seemed to threaten the peaceful establishment of the hierarchy. The law, was, however, considerably modified, and the Catholic resistance was less stubborn as the Catholic Minister of Worship promised to eliminate the dangerous consequences of such legislation. In September, 1853, the government formally recognised the new bishops, and the Dutch hierarchy was now an accomplished fact. The bishops proceeded to arrange the parochial boundaries, to erect chapters, to appoint vicars and parish priests without any fear of interference from the civil authorities.

CHAPTER V

THE CHURCH IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

(a) SPAIN

La Fuente, *Hist. Eccles. de España*, 6 vols., Madrid, 1873-75. Gams, *Die Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, 5 Bde., Regensburg, 1862-79. Brück, *Die Geheime Gesellschaften in Spanien und ihre Stellung zu Kirche und Staat*, Mayence, 1881.

THE wars of Charles V. and Philip II., in which Spain was involved solely in defence of the inheritance of the House of Habsburg prepared the way for the downfall of Spain. The public debt went up by leaps and bounds, and as the population of Spain was very small—only six millions in 1715—the immense taxes imposed on merchandise and commerce killed the trade and business energy of the country. As in France the old free representative institutions under which Spain reached its highest development were superseded in favour of monarchical absolutism, and the rule of worthless court favourites destroyed what Spain in the days of real liberty had built up.

During the reign of Charles III. (1759-1788),* an effort was made to improve the material position of the country. Roads were laid out and built; irrigation was introduced, agriculture was encouraged, subsidies were granted for the development of Spanish industries, and the taxes readjusted. But in his ecclesiastical policy

* Rosseau, *Règne de Charles III. d'Espagne*, 1759-1788, 2 vols., Paris, 1907.

Charles III. was influenced to a great extent by the French liberal school of philosophers, and most of his advisers were of the same religious views. Owing to the strong Catholic feeling of the population he felt it unsafe to proceed to extremes, but in various ways he showed his anxiety to introduce a policy of hostile reforms. The Jesuits were expelled from the Spanish dominions in 1767; the king discouraged the spread of the monasteries, and attacked the wealth of the Church. In many ways the rule of Charles III. in Spain bears a striking resemblance to that of his great contemporary in Austria, Joseph II. He was detested by the clergy and the nobles, and distrusted by the people on account of his encouragement of foreigners, especially of Frenchmen, who monopolised the commerce and business of the country.

Charles IV. (1788-1808) was a well-meaning but weak-minded sovereign, who allowed himself to be ruled by his wife, Maria Louisa of Parma, and her worthless favourite Godoy. The latter was strongly opposed to the church, and in various ways tried to limit her freedom and her possessions. Owing to the outbreak of the Revolution in France, and the close ties of relationship between the two reigning families of the Bourbons, it was nearly impossible for Spain to avoid war with France. The army was not prepared for war, and Godoy was compelled to sue for peace in 1795. He went further, and concluded an alliance with France against England (1795). From this time Spain allowed herself to be dragged in the wake of the Directory and of Napoleon. Godoy, too, imitated, as far as it was possible for him to do in the circumstances of the country, the attitude of the French Revolution to the Church. He adopted the policy of Charles III. in his opposition to the religious orders. To raise the enormous funds required for the wars entailed by the French alliance an extraordinary tax was levied upon the ecclesiastical lands, while the religious and charitable endowments were seized and converted to state purposes, the govern-

ment guaranteeing interest at 3 per cent. on all such property. Education, too, he considered, had been left too much to the Church, and he took measures to liberate the schools from the control of the clergy, and to introduce Liberal professors into the Spanish universities.

In 1807 Napoleon resolved to force Portugal to observe the Continental blockade and to drive out the English. Spain joined in this enterprise in the hopes of securing the kingdom of Portugal. But Napoleon had other intentions. He continued to pour troops into Spain without reason, and as the Spanish people recognised that they had been betrayed by the king and his minister, an insurrection broke out in 1808, and Charles IV. was forced to abdicate in favour of his son, Fernando, who was proclaimed under the title of Ferdinand VII. This turn of events did not suit Napoleon. He had hoped that the royal family of Spain would have fled to some of their colonies, and that the throne of Spain being vacant Joseph Bonaparte's accession would have been joyfully accepted. He invited Ferdinand VII. and the late king, Charles IV., to meet him at Bayonne, and, after a painful scene between father and son, he forced both to surrender their claims to the Spanish throne, and proclaimed Joseph Bonaparte king of Spain (1808). The cowardly Ferdinand VII. was not ashamed to address an appeal to the Spanish people urging submission to Napoleon.

But the Spaniards were too proud to accept the rule of the foreigner. The old province of the Asturias, that had already led the way in defence of Spain and Christianity against the Moors, declared against Napoleon, and the rest of Spain followed this example. The Asturians appealed to England for assistance, and the English statesmen, recognising the importance of the struggle, gladly lent aid both in men and money. Escorted by French troops, Joseph Bonaparte set out for Madrid, where he found the people everywhere hostile and the city in mourning.

The rule of Joseph Bonaparte in Spain was disastrous

for the interests of the Church. The clergy, true to their patriotic instincts, encouraged the people to drive out the French. In revenge, Napoleon levied immense contributions from the ecclesiastical property in the districts in which he had any control, suppressed the monasteries, and seized their possessions. The same scenes of secularisation that had been enacted previously in France and Germany were now witnessed in Spain. The Inquisition was formally abolished by him in 1808. For some years previously it had fallen into the hands of the freemason party in Spain, and hindered rather than assisted the suppression of heresy. The queen and her favourite, Godoy, succeeded in expelling Cardinal Lorenzana, the archbishop of Toledo, and president of the Inquisition, and in procuring the appointment to his place of the archbishop of Burgos. Anton Llorente, well known as a freemason and an enemy of the Catholic Church, was appointed secretary, and the Inquisition had practically fallen into the hands of the freemasons. Its suppression, therefore, by Joseph Napoleon in 1808 was not a serious blow to Catholicity.*

The Spaniards made a determined struggle against the overwhelming forces of France, and were well supported by the English army and fleet. The Council of Regents, however, proved itself utterly incompetent to handle such a critical situation, and demands were made on all sides that the Cortes, the ancient Parliament of Spain, should be convoked. The Regents reluctantly yielded, and at last, on the 24th September, 1810, the Cortes, elected by popular vote, met at San Fernando near Cadiz amidst scenes of the wildest excitement. It was to do for Spain, what the National Assembly had done for France, to abolish absolute rule and give it a constitution. The spirit of the French Revolution had already found its way into Spain, and the agents of the secret societies were busy at work to turn the national excitement to advantage by stirring up a feeling of hostility against both royalty and religion.

* Rodrigo, *Historia verdadera de la Inquisicion*, 3 vols., Madrid, 1876.

The Assembly was opened with a solemn Mass sung by the archbishop of Toledo, and after the termination of the ceremony the individual deputies took the oath of allegiance to the Catholic Church and to their king, Ferdinand VII. The provinces of Castile, occupied by French troops, were unable to send representatives to the Cortes, and the Liberal deputies from the maritime provinces were consequently in the majority. A commission was appointed to draw up a new constitution, which was solemnly proclaimed in January, 1812. The monarchy was to be hereditary, but nearly the whole power was vested in the Cortes. The Catholic religion was to be the only religion acknowledged or permitted in Spain. The religious feeling of the country was so strong that the Liberals were obliged to accept such a clause. But in other respects the Liberals showed their hostility by abolishing the privileges of the clergy, and by suppressing the Inquisition as one of the worst weapons of the absolute monarchical rule. The legislation of the French National Assembly was the model followed by the majority of the Cortes, but the election of new members in 1813 from the provinces hitherto held by the French gave the Conservatives a majority, and the Assembly broke up in disorder.

Meanwhile, the English under Wellesley, supported by the loyal Spaniards, had succeeded in driving the French out of Spain, and the way was now clear for the restoration of Ferdinand VII. The new Cortes (1814) wished that Ferdinand should be obliged to accept the constitution before being acknowledged as king of Spain, but the reception given to Ferdinand was so enthusiastic, that he felt himself strong enough to refuse the conditions imposed by the Cortes, and published a proclamation abolishing the constitution of 1812. The anti-religious tendencies of the freemason majority of the Cortes were in a great measure responsible for the strong conservative reaction that now took place in Spain. The leaders of the Liberal party were arrested (May, 1814), and after several months' detention were punished by exile or long imprisonment.

The ancient régime as it existed before 1808 was restored almost in its entirety. The old system of councils, the privileges of the orders, and the Inquisition were re-introduced. The clergy obtained once more their privileges in the kingdom, the ecclesiastical property that had been seized was restored, the monasteries were re-opened, and the Jesuits recalled after years of banishment. Much as the people loved the king, they soon grew weary of his arbitrary rule. The high taxation alienated all classes, the clergy and nobility as well as the people, while the failure of the efforts for the reduction of the rebel American colonies did not tend to strengthen the power of the government in Spain.

A strong opposition, partly led by the officers and by the freemason clubs, was formed against the king. The revolt began in 1820, and the king was obliged to swear allegiance to the constitution of 1812. A new Cortes, elected according to the forms of 1812, was convoked. The Liberals were in a vast majority, but were themselves divided into two parties, the Moderates (*Moderados*), who wished to avoid complete rupture with the court and the clergy, and the extreme section, who were thirsting for war. The extreme party succeeded in capturing the government in 1822, and Ferdinand VII. was practically a prisoner in their hands.

The Cortes of 1820 was in the hands of the revolutionary and freemason parties. From the very start it made war on the Church in the spirit of the National Assembly of 1789. The religious houses were suppressed and their property sold to meet the increasing financial difficulties. The Jesuits were banished from the kingdom, the tithes abolished, the clergy forbidden to communicate with Rome, the bishops commanded to force their priests to preach submission to the constitution from the altar, and wholesale sentences of banishment or imprisonment decreed against those who refused obedience to these regulations. The people, roused by these attacks upon their religion and by the sight of their king a prisoner in the hands of the freemason Liberal

party, flew to arms in different parts of the kingdom, and organised the "Apostolic Army" to fight for their religion and their king against the Cortes. This unfortunate conjunction of religion and royalty was disastrous for the Church in Spain as well as in other countries at the same period.

The governments of Europe were hostile to the Spanish revolution, and Louis XVIII. undertook to aid the party of the king (1823). A large French army marched into Spain, and the Cortes had neither the army nor the money required to sustain a prolonged contest. The Cortes and its friends fell back on Cadiz, taking Ferdinand with them as a prisoner, but after a siege of three months they were compelled to surrender, and Ferdinand VII. was free to annul the laws passed since 1820, and to punish the leaders of the revolution. The laws against the Catholic religion were abolished, but this time the king did not resuscitate the Inquisition. In its place, however, he established what is known as the Juntas of the Faith. For some years the Restoration government and policy were triumphant. Soon, however, the royalist party were split up into two sections—one a conservative party rallying round Don Carlos, the brother of the king and the heir apparent to the throne, the other supported by Ferdinand and anxious to conclude a bargain with the Liberals. The crisis came between the two parties on the question of the royal succession.

The king's third wife, Amalia of Saxony, died in 1829, and, as there had been no children from any of these marriages, it was confidently assumed by the Conservative party that Don Carlos was certain to succeed. But, to their astonishment, Ferdinand resolved to take a fourth wife in the person of his niece, Maria Cristina of Naples, and in 1829 she arrived in Spain. In the circumstances it was only natural that from the very first the young queen turned towards the Liberal party for support. The enemies of Don Carlos were determined to oust him from the succession at all costs, but the decree of Philip V. in 1713, establishing the Salic Law in Spain,

was likely to prove an obstacle to such a movement in case the expected issue of the recent marriage should be a female. The Cortes of 1789 had agreed to the abolition of this decree at the urgent request of Charles IV., but the abolition had never been published, and had, therefore, no legal force. The queen and her friends urged Ferdinand to publish this decree, and on the 31st March, 1830, the heralds proclaimed the *Pragmatic Sanction*, restoring the ancient law of succession in Spain in accordance with the petition of the Cortes of 1789. In October, 1830, the Infanta Isabella was born, and Don Carlos made no secret of his intention of disputing the succession. The king fell ill in 1832, and, thinking himself dying, consented to withdraw the *Pragmatic Sanction*, but on his recovery recalled this withdrawal, handed the government over to the party of the queen, and commanded his officials to swear allegiance to the Infanta Isabella (1833). Don Carlos declared that neither his conscience nor his honour would permit him to take such an oath, and was commanded to leave the kingdom. In September, 1833, the king died, and by his will appointed his wife, Cristina, regent of Spain during the minority of Isabella II.

It was now war to the knife between the Carlists and the followers of Cristina. Don Carlos was supported by the Conservatives, the vast majority of the clergy, regular and secular, the provinces of Castile and the Basque provinces. He was in alliance with the Pretender, Dom Miguel of Portugal, and had the sympathy of Prussia, Russia, and Austria. Queen Cristina relied upon the Liberal anti-clerical section, backed by the support of England and Louis Philippe. To conciliate the Liberals the queen granted a constitution in 1834.

The civil war lasted from 1834 till 1839. Don Carlos had taken no pains to organise his army, and, as a result, the individual Carlist outbreaks in many districts were easily suppressed. Not so, however, the Carlist move-

ment in the Basque provinces. These provinces under the old régime enjoyed practically a system of home rule, and Don Carlos stood for the principle of provincial autonomy. The Liberals, on the other hand, fought for centralisation. Don Carlos returned in 1834, and the war was carried on with extreme bitterness on both sides. In many cases no quarter was asked or given. Prisoners and non-combatants were not unfrequently shot in cold blood. England encouraged an English legion to fight for the queen, and Louis Philippe sent a French legion to support the same cause; while, on the other hand, the French Legitimists aided Don Carlos with money and volunteers. At last, the followers of Don Carlos quarrelled among themselves, and the Basque provinces, tired of the scenes of desolation, made their submission by the *Convention of Vergara* (Aug., 1839), and Don Carlos escaped across the frontier into France. His general, Cabrera, gave up the contest in Catalonia in the following year.

The alliance of the ecclesiastics with the Carlists, and the triumph of the Liberal freemason party at the court, led to a savage persecution of the church in Spain. The Liberals were determined to suppress the religious orders, who were believed to have incited the people to take the side of Don Carlos. An agitation in favour of the total suppression of the monasteries and convents was carefully organised, and the rumour that the monks had caused the cholera epidemic of 1834 led to a popular rising against the religious orders, in which the religious houses were attacked, and several of the inmates slain. The government stood by and took no measures to protect them. In the following year (1835) a law was passed suppressing all religious houses with a community of less than twelve. In consequence of this decree close on nine hundred religious houses were closed. The Jesuits were expelled from the kingdom.

The arrival of Mendizabal at Madrid and his appointment as treasurer led to more decisive action against the Church. The financial affairs of Spain were in a des-

perate condition, and more money was required to carry on the war against Don Carlos. To raise the necessary funds a decree was issued in October, 1837, suppressing nearly all the monasteries in the kingdom, about three thousand in number, and their possessions, houses, pictures, libraries, even the sacred vessels used at the altar, were sold, and the money applied to the expenses of the war. Gregory XVI. protested against this violation of the rights of the Church, but his protests were unavailing. In 1837, the Cortes abolished tithes, and declared the possessions of the Church the property of the nation. At the same time, by the new constitution of 1837 the government pledged itself to support the clergy and provide for the expenses of Catholic worship. In imitation of the Civil Constitution of the clergy in France a Civil Constitution of the clergy was prepared by a commission of Liberal Jansenist clergymen appointed by the Cortes, but was never carried into effect.

Gregory XVI. adopted a policy of neutrality between the conflicting parties in Spain. He refused to aid the Carlists, but he was equally firm in not recognising the regency of Cristina. The result was that the Pope was unable to confirm the appointments made to the bishoprics by the Spanish government, and in consequence of this, many of the dioceses were vacant and administered by vicars. In 1841 only six bishops were left in Spain. An effort was made by the ministry of Ofalia (1838) to conciliate the clergy and to arrive at some agreement with Rome, but the revolution of 1840 put an end for the time to all hopes of arriving at a concordat.

Espartero, the successful general of the Carlist war, resenting the favour shown by the regent towards the Moderate party, encouraged the Liberals to resist the new conservative policy. A revolution broke out in 1840 and the regent, having resigned the regency, set out for Marseilles, leaving the government of the kingdom to Espartero. The latter was appointed sole regent in 1841. He continued in office till 1843, when he was overthrown

and the young queen, Isabella II., then thirteen years old, was declared of age by the Cortes. The Moderate party secured the reins of government, and queen Cristina returned to Spain.

The regency of Espartero (1840-43) meant an era of worse persecution for the Church. The Liberals celebrated their victory over the Moderates by putting an end to the policy of conciliation. Bishops and priests were expelled from their dioceses and parishes to make way for clergymen willing to support the government. The assessors of the Ecclesiastical Tribunal at Madrid were removed from office, and the Papal nuncio, Arellano, having ventured to protest against such outrages, was arrested, and conducted across the frontier (Dec., 1840). Gregory XVI. delivered an allocution (March, 1841), in which he solemnly denounced the violent policy adopted by the Espartero government towards the Church.

The government hastened to publish a reply, in which they attempted to deceive the people as to the nature of the Papal document by representing it as the attack of the temporal ruler of the Papal States on the Liberal government of Spain. The clergy were forbidden to publish the allocution, and those of them who disobeyed the prohibition were severely punished. The minister of justice took the desperate step of appointing his own nominees to the vacant bishoprics, but even they, liberal as some of them were, felt constrained to refuse the honour, and were punished for their disobedience. Gregory XVI. addressed (1842) an Encyclical to the whole Church on the sad state of the Spanish Church, and called upon the Catholics throughout the world to offer up public prayers that God might effect a change. Their prayers were heard, for in the next year (1843), the regency of Espartero came to an abrupt termination.

The new government hastened to make peace with the Church. Such a step was necessary in order to detach the Catholics and clergy from the Carlist cause, while, at the same time, owing to the writings of men like Balmes, Donoso Cortes, and the publication of such papers as *La Religion* and *El Catolico*, a better and more intelli-

gent religious spirit had been created in the country. The bishops and clergy were allowed to return to their charges, and negotiations were opened with the Holy See for the arrangement of a concordat. After many preliminary difficulties Pius IX. finally succeeded in settling the terms of the concordat in 1851.*

According to these terms the Church withdrew all claims to the ecclesiastical property that had been sequestered, while, on the other hand, the Spanish government undertook to provide for the support of the clergy, and the maintenance of public worship. A new division of the dioceses of Spain was arranged, and the government secured the right of patronage already granted in the concordat of 1753. The number of members in the chapters, the method of their appointment as well as of the parish priests, the erection and government of the seminaries, and the payment of the clergy were fully arranged. The conclusion of the concordat was hailed with satisfaction by the vast majority of the people, and enabled the Pope to appoint to the vacant sees, and to put an end to the anarchy reigning in the Spanish Church.

Amongst the Catholic writers who contributed to bring about this happy result and to produce a revival of religious life amongst their countrymen no men were more active or more successful than Balmes and Donoso Cortes. The former was born at Vich, Catalonia, in 1810, and after a brilliant course at the seminary and at the university of Cervera he was ordained priest in 1833. He returned to his native town and took up a position as professor of mathematics. But the dangers that threatened the Spanish Church soon drew him from his retirement, and in 1840 he published his first religious political work, *Observaciones sociales, políticas y económicas sobre los bienes del clero*, directed against the wholesale seizure of the ecclesiastical property. Against the tyrannical rule of Espartero he wrote his *Consideraciones políticas sobre la situación de España* (1840).

* Nussi, *Conventiones*, XXVIII.

These works soon gained him a foremost place among Spanish writers, and in 1841 he settled down at Madrid to prepare the book which has made him famous throughout Europe. In imitation of Guizot's *European Civilisation*, he published (1842-1844) *El Protestantismo comparado con el Catolicismo en sus relaciones con la civilisation Europea*. The work was quickly translated into different languages, and, in its own order, is one of the most remarkable contributions to Catholic apologetics in the nineteenth century. Besides contributing to the Reviews *La Sociedad* and *El Pensamiento*, which he founded, he wrote an excellent course of philosophy, which was long accepted as the standard book in many of the Catholic Colleges. He died in 1848 in his native town of Vich, where a statue has been erected in his memory.*

With Balmes, in the religious literary revival of Spain, the name of Donoso Cortes must for ever be associated. Their lives were cast in different moulds, and their activity lay in widely separate fields, but both aimed at proving that in the Catholic religion could be found a remedy for all the calamities of their time. Donoso Cortes was born at Valle de la Serena in 1809, and after a few years spent at the preparatory schools he passed into the universities of Salamanca and Seville. He devoted himself to the study of philosophy, history and literature, and with such success that at the early age of nineteen he was offered a professorship at Caceres. At this stage of his life he was, like most Liberals of his day, a Catholic only in name, and hated the Catholic Church on account of the apparent alliance with the forces of absolutism.

He supported Queen Cristina against the Carlists, but took no part in the sharp persecution of the Church in the year 1835. Being unfriendly to the regency of Espartero, he went into exile with Cristina, and on her return he was appointed to direct the education of the young queen, Isabella II. He became a practical

* A. de Blanche Raffin, *J. Balmes sa vie et ses Ouvrages*, Paris, 1849.

Catholic through the influence of his brother, and in the Cortes devoted his eloquence to the defence of religious interests. He was regarded on all sides as an orator of the foremost rank, and his speeches, translated into different tongues, were read with interest throughout Europe. His best known work, *Ensayo sobre el Catolicismo el Liberalismo, y el Socialismo*, is taken up with the idea that in the Catholic religion alone is to be found a remedy for the evils of the day, and that behind every political problem lies a religious one, which the statesman must face before he can arrive at a satisfactory solution. The influence of his speeches in the Cortes, and of his writings, contributed much to bring about the arrangement with the Holy See in 1851. He was sent as ambassador to Paris, where he died (1853) at the early age of forty-four. The government brought back his remains to Madrid, and a national subscription was opened to erect a worthy memorial to the two great glories of the Spanish literary world in the nineteenth century—Balmes and Cortes.

(b) PORTUGAL

Oliveira Martins, *Historia de Portugal*, 2 vols., Lisbon; 6th ed., 1901.
 Stephens, *Portugal* (Story of the Nations Series), London, 1891.
 Giedroyc, *Résumé de l'Histoire du Portugal au XIX^e Siècle*, Paris, 1875.
 MacSwiney, *Le Portugal et le Saint Siège*, Paris, 1881-9.

The reign of Joseph Emmanuel I. (1750-1777) marks a new era in the history of Portugal. Personally he was a man of very little parts, but he entrusted the government of the country to a minister of more than ordinary ability, a former ambassador of Portugal at the courts of England and Austria, the Marquis de Pombal. The latter devoted himself completely to the work of reform, and it cannot be denied that under his rule the material advancement of the country was well consulted.

But in religious matters he was a disciple of the French rationalistic school, and set himself, like Joseph II.

of Austria, to introduce more liberal ideas on religion among the population of Portugal. This scheme, together with his resolve to consolidate the absolute power of the Crown, brought him into conflict with the members of the Society of Jesus. They were a strong body, likely to offer a bold resistance to his religious and political plans, and, hence, he resolved to begin his campaign by securing their expulsion from the kingdom. Nor was it difficult for him to invent a plausible excuse for such an act. A conspiracy against the life of the king was attributed by him without any real proof to certain members of the society, and the Jesuits in the kingdom and in the Portuguese colonies were arrested and sent into exile (1759). The Papal nuncio, Acciajoli, was also dismissed from Lisbon, and all official communications between Rome and Portugal were broken off during the remainder of the reign of Clement XIII.

At the same time Pombal rather encouraged than prohibited the spread of the French rationalistic literature among the better educated class, and, hence, in Portugal the opinions and theories of men like Montesquieu, Diderot, Voltaire, and Rousseau were freely discussed. The university of Coimbra became the centre from which the movement was propagated through the country, and Pombal, instead of adopting repressive measures, endeavoured to encourage the leaders of the movement, and to strengthen it by his selection of professors for the universities. The Inquisition was not, indeed, suppressed, but Pombal took care to man it with officials of his own choice, many of whom were attached to the freemason societies, and, thus, the machinery which should have served to discountenance heresy helped rather to suppress the clergy and the nobles who offered any resistance to the reforms of the Prime Minister. By the French rationalistic writings and the development of the freemason party throughout Portugal, the Catholic religion was undermined in the country during the ministry of the Marquis of Pombal.

Joseph Emmanuel was succeeded by his daughter,

Maria Francisca (1777-1816) who had married her uncle, Dom Pedro. Under her reign the policy of Pombal was completely reversed, and the clergy and nobles who had been imprisoned by him were released. Pombal himself was dismissed from office, and was banished from the court. The queen was of weak mind, and in 1792 her son, Dom John, was obliged to take the management of affairs in his own hands. Nor had the new ruler an easy task. The French Revolution, at that time in full swing, exercised a disturbing influence in nearly every country in Europe, but in none more than in Portugal, where the policy of Pombal had encouraged the spread of French Liberal ideas on religion and on government, and where the fruits of that policy now began to cause his successors serious trouble.

The old Cortes of Portugal had not been summoned for years. As in France, the cause of absolutism had triumphed, and the people had lost all voice in the legislation or administration. The educated middle classes, ardent disciples of Rousseau and strongly republican, began to clamour for the convocation of a Cortes that might do for Portugal what the National Assembly had done for France. The freemason societies strongly supported this demand, but Dom John rejected all such petitions, and adopted energetic measures to crush the opposition. He expelled foreigners, especially French residents, from the country, arrested the leaders of the French party in Portugal, suppressed the freemason lodges through the country, and by every means at his disposal endeavoured to crush out a movement which, from the circumstances of the country, was directed equally against the ecclesiastical and the civil power.

This energetic policy of repression incurred the displeasure of the republican government of France. It regarded the hostility of Portugal as the result of English influence, and was anxious for an opportunity of occupying a state which was likely to prove a useful basis for English troops during a Continental war; while, on

the other hand, the acting regent of Portugal could not remain an uninterested spectator of the fate of the House of Bourbon in Paris. In 1793, a treaty was concluded between Spain and Portugal against France, and during the war that ensued the Portuguese troops fought bravely side by side with those of Spain, but in 1795 Spain concluded a separate peace with France, and left Portugal alone to bear the brunt of the struggle. After ineffectual appeals to Paris for peace, and after it had become clear that nothing less than a partition of Portugal between France and Spain was determined upon, Dom John determined to appeal to England for assistance.

This assistance in men and money was quickly despatched, and the presence of a large English army under Sir Charles Stuart saved Portugal from invasion. Dom John, who had now assumed the title of regent (1799), endeavoured to make terms with Napoleon, but the conditions of peace were so humiliating that they were rejected by Portugal, and the war with Spain and France broke out again in 1801. Naturally enough, Portugal was no match for such opponents, and in October, 1801, was obliged to conclude treaties with Spain and France, by which portions of Portuguese territory were abandoned to the victors. The people were dissatisfied with such a disgraceful peace, but the regent was determined to follow the policy of neutrality.

Napoleon, however, insisted that Portugal should observe the Continental blockade against England, and as his demands were not complied with, he signed the treaty of Fontainebleau with Spain (1807), and the troops of France and Spain prepared to invade Portugal. The regent fled on an English ship to the Portuguese colony of Brazil, and, a few days after his departure, General Junot marched into Lisbon. The freemason party plainly showed their attitude by presenting addresses of welcome to the conqueror; and for a while during the brief reign of the French party the Catholics had to suffer insults and persecution. But the tyranny of the French,

and their treatment of Portugal as a French province disgusted the great body of the people, and made them determined to shake off the yoke of the conqueror. In Oporto the movement first took definite shape. There a Junta was formed (June, 1807) with the bishop, de Castro, as its president. The other cities followed this example, and when it was seen that Portugal, single-handed, could never fight France the bishop of Oporto appealed to England for support.

The English gladly welcomed this appeal. A force was despatched to Portugal under Sir Arthur Wellesley, while General Beresford was commissioned to reorganise the Portuguese army. The regents entrusted by Dom John with the government before his flight returned to power, but from 1809 till 1820 Beresford was the real ruler of Portugal. His rule was distasteful to the vast majority of the people, and his savage repression of rebellion against his authority only made the people more determined to free themselves, and to demand the return of Dom John from Brazil. They did not wish to be treated merely as a colony of the latter country. During these years between 1810 and 1820 the rule of the English, though it could not be expected to be friendly to the Catholic Church, was not very hostile, owing principally to the political circumstances of the country.

At length in 1820, profiting by the absence of Beresford, the principal cities rose in revolt; the English officers were driven out; a provisional government established, and a National Assembly summoned to draw up a constitution for Portugal. The new Assembly was distinctly revolutionary in its character, and set itself to carry out the programme of the National Assembly of Paris (1789) and of the revolutionary Cortes in Spain. All relics of feudalism were abolished, complete equality of all citizens, abolition of class privileges, freedom of the press, and the sovereignty of the people were proclaimed. The legislative and administrative powers were confided to one elected Chamber, upon the decrees of which the king retained only a suspensory veto.

The National Assembly was distinctly hostile to the Church. All the privileges of the clergy were swept away, the Inquisition courts suppressed, the ecclesiastical property converted to the use of the nation, and some of the religious orders disbanded. The Chamber was under the sway of the revolutionary and freemason societies, but the vast majority of the population was still devoted to the Catholic religion. It was particularly unfortunate that, as in Spain, the cause of religion should have been so closely identified with absolute rule, and that, therefore, the republican party were almost necessarily driven into a position of hostility.

The regent, Dom John, who had succeeded as king in 1816 on the death of his mother, was pressed from all sides to return to Spain. Having appointed his eldest son, Dom Pedro, regent of Brazil, he set out for Portugal, and on his arrival in Lisbon was compelled to swear allegiance to the new constitution (Oct., 1822), while the Portuguese colony of Brazil, indignant at the high-handed attitude of the National Assembly, forced Dom Pedro to proclaim the independence of Brazil and to accept the title of emperor. The queen of Portugal and her second son, Dom Miguel, were strongly opposed to democratic rule, and refused to accept the constitution of 1822. Many of the officers and people, disgusted with the loss of Brazil, owing to the impolitic action of the Cortes, supported the party of the queen and Dom Miguel against the king and the Cortes. Dom Miguel led the movement, and the Cortes was dissolved. The king, however, refused to identify himself with the absolutist party, and appointed a commission to draw up a new constitution modelled on that of England.

Dom Miguel and the absolutist party now rose in revolt (April, 1824), and the king was for a while a prisoner in their hands. The powers, at the instigation of England, interfered to secure his release, and Dom Miguel was obliged to retire from Portugal. The independence of Brazil under the rule of Dom Pedro was recognised (1825), and a few months later John VI. passed to his reward.

Dom Pedro, Emperor of Brazil, as eldest son, was the rightful successor, but it was impossible for him to rule both countries, and in 1826, having proclaimed a charter similar to the Restoration Charter of Louis XVIII. in France, he abdicated the throne of Portugal in favour of his daughter, Donna Maria da Gloria. It was agreed that his younger brother, Dom Miguel, should be recognised as regent, provided he was willing to marry his niece, the young queen, and swear allegiance to the charter. Dom Miguel agreed to these conditions, and in February, 1828, he landed at Lisbon. He was the idol of the Portuguese, and the enemy of Liberalism in religion and in politics. He detested the Cortes both for their civil and ecclesiastical reforms, and, relying upon the popular support, he dismissed the assembly in about three weeks after his arrival.

In May, 1828, he summoned the old Cortes, namely, the clergy, the nobles and the Third Estate, and, as had been expected, the assembly offered him the crown. Dom Pedro, as the grand master of the freemasons of Brazil, and the recognised ally of the Liberal party, was very unpopular with both clergy and nobles, who, therefore, ranged themselves on the side of Dom Miguel. The great majority of the people were undoubtedly on the same side, and the proclamation of Dom Miguel was received with every sign of popular rejoicing. The adherents of the young queen fled to England, but at first, England refused to intervene. The policy of Dom Miguel, however, was not calculated to strengthen his position. A violent persecution broke out against all who were suspected of liberal tendencies. Wholesale arrests and imprisonments or expulsion were the order of the day.

The opponents of Dom Miguel took up their position in the little island of Terceira, one of the Azores, but so long as the powers remained neutral there was no hope of their success. In 1830 the revolution in Paris, and the advent of a Whig Ministry with Lord Palmerston at the Foreign Office in England, en-

couraged the hopes of the party. Dom Pedro abdicated the throne of Brazil in 1831, and returned to Europe to fight for the cause of his daughter, Donna Maria da Gloria. He was strongly assisted by France and England, while, on the other hand, the nobles, clergy and vast majority of the people stood loyal to the king of their choice, Dom Miguel.

In July, 1832, Dom Pedro landed at Oporto, and at first his chances of success seemed desperate, but with the assistance of England, France, and Spain, he succeeded in capturing the principal cities, and at last, in May, 1834, Dom Miguel was obliged to sign a convention by which, in return for an annual pension of £1,500, he promised never again to return to Portugal.

This strife between Dom Miguel and Dom Pedro was disastrous for the Catholic Church. Owing to the friendly attitude adopted by Dom Miguel towards the Church and the well-known sympathy of Dom Pedro for freemasonry and Liberalism, the clergy generally supported the cause of Dom Miguel. As a consequence, the victory of Dom Pedro meant the triumph of Liberalism and the persecution of the Church. The Papal nuncio was expelled from the kingdom (1833); the tribunal of the Nunciature suppressed; all the bishoprics to which appointments had been made on the presentation of Dom Miguel were declared vacant; the bishops removed, and vicars appointed to administer the dioceses (1833).

Of the religious orders the Jesuits were naturally the first victims of Dom Pedro's vengeance. In 1833, before the country was yet conquered, he published a decree ordering them to withdraw from the kingdom. By a further decree of May, 1834, all the religious and military orders were suppressed, their houses and property confiscated and sold to relieve the wants of the Treasury. The tithes were abolished, and, as no source of revenue was provided in their place, the clergy were in great distress. A pension, indeed, had been pro-

mised them, but, like the other financial responsibilities of the government, the payments were irregular. Dom Pedro claimed the right of appointing to all benefices in the country, and forbade any priest to undertake the administration of the sacraments unless he had received permission to do so from the government. He went further, and nominated bishops to the vacant sees, and insisted on the patriarch of Lisbon consecrating those selected without having received any confirmation of their appointment from the Pope. In August, 1834, Gregory XVI. delivered an allocution at Rome, in which he deplored the persecutions of the Church in Portugal and threatened to excommunicate those who interfered with the property or the liberty of the Church. But his words had little weight with Dom Pedro and his freemason and Liberal supporters.

Fortunately for the Church, Dom Pedro died in the next month (Sept., 1834), and Donna Maria da Gloria undertook the work of government. Personally she was of a religious disposition, and most anxious to open negotiations with the Pope, but being to a great extent in the hands of the Liberal party, she was not always able to carry out her wishes. In 1835, her first husband died, and in the following year she married Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, nephew of Leopold I. of Belgium. The old Revolutionary party, feeling that the power was passing away from their hands, and that the Chartists (supporters of the charter of 1826) and the Miguelists were supplanting them, rose in rebellion and forced the queen to accept the constitution of 1822. This was strongly anti-Catholic in some of its clauses, and the religious situation in Portugal was more and more disturbed. Many of the people refused to acknowledge the bishops appointed by Dom Pedro without the approval of the Holy See, while, on the other hand, the attitude of some of the clergy educated in the Liberal university of Coimbra was far from exemplary.

In 1840, a Chartist or Moderate majority was returned to the Cortes, and in 1842, owing to the bold action of

Cabral, the charter of 1826 was restored and the ministry wrested from the Liberal party. The return of the Chartist party enabled the queen to open negotiations with the Holy See in 1841. Mgr. Capaccini was entrusted with the work of arranging a settlement of the difficulties existing between Rome and Lisbon. Owing principally to his efforts many of the wounds inflicted on the Catholic Church by the civil strife were healed, and a *modus vivendi* was arranged. On the one hand, the papal representative abandoned all claims for the restoration of the property owned by the religious orders before the decrees of 1833 and 1834, while, on the other, an agreement was arrived at with regard to the appointments to the bishoprics of Lisbon, Braga and Leiria. Unfortunately, however, the repeated insurrections and changes of ministries and policies in the country prevented the conclusion of a concordat, and matters have remained in the same unsettled state till the present time.

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CHAPTER VI

THE CHURCH IN POLAND AND RUSSIA

Pierling, *La Russie et le Saint Siège*, 4 vols., Paris, 1896-1907. Theiner, *Neueste Zustände der Kath. Kirche beider Ritus in Russland und Polen.*, Augsburg, 1841. *Expositio Documentis munita earum curarum quas Pius IX. in levamen malorum, quibus in ditione Russica et Polonia, Ecclesia. Cath., afflictatur, suscepit*, Rome, 1870. Lescoeur, *L'Église Catholique et le Gouvernement Russe, 1772-1875*, 2 vols., Paris, 1876. Pelecz, *Geschichte der Union der Ruthenischen Kirche mit Rom.*, 2 vols., Vienna, 1870-80.

WHILE the neighbouring countries were adapting themselves to the demands of the age, Poland remained stationary, contenting itself with a feudal organisation, which, however suitable at an earlier period, was hardly in keeping with the requirements of the eighteenth century. The constitution seems to have been specially devised to secure the division of the country. The king was elected by the nobles, who really ruled the country. Each new ruler was obliged to conclude a special agreement with the Diet before being allowed to assume control. These agreements were known as the *Pacta Conventa*. Besides, the individual nobles regarded themselves as equal, and hence in the Diet any motion, however pleasing to the majority, might be defeated by the veto of a single member. This provision, the *Liberum Veto*, deprived the Diet of all possibility of effecting reform; while, to make the situation worse, the nobles reserved to themselves the right of forming private confederations independent of all control. The influence of religion seems to have been the strongest force at work in keeping the Poles together and in delaying the national dissolution.

The influence of Russia in the internal affairs of Poland had been steadily increasing during the latter half of the eighteenth century. On the accession of Catherine II. (1762-1796) Augustus III. of Poland was nearing his end, and as the monarchy was elective, one party of the nobles favoured the election of the Prince of Saxony, while another party favoured the pretensions of Poniatowski, a Polish nobleman himself, and a favourite of the Empress of Russia. His candidature was also supported by Frederick the Great of Prussia, who was jealous of the power of Saxony, and both powers, Russia and Prussia, formed a treaty to prevent any reform in the constitution of Poland, and to demand better treatment for the Dissidents.

The Catholic religion was the state religion of Poland, and was professed by about twenty million Poles. The Dissidents were the members of the Orthodox Greek Church principally in Lithuania, and of the Lutheran Church, who resided for the most part around Thorn and Dantzic. Various laws (1717, 1733, 1743) were passed restricting the civil and religious liberty of the Dissidents of both classes. It is only fair, however, to remember that these laws were not so much the result of the religious intolerance of the Catholic government of Poland as of political necessity. The Lutheran party in East Poland were intriguing in favour of German or Prussian influence in Polish affairs, while the members of the Orthodox Church were the constant supporters of the Russian faction. The Diet of 1766 confirmed the previous laws made against the Dissidents, who, thereupon, appealed to Russia and Prussia for protection. This was the pretext assigned by Catherine II. and Frederick II. for their interference in the internal affairs of Poland; and the good faith of these two champions of religious toleration can be best estimated by the fact, that no two powers of Europe were more intolerant in their treatment of the Catholics in their dominions than Russia and Prussia.

Augustus III. died in October, 1763, and mainly

through the open and secret influence of Catherine II. Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski was elected by the Diet. His opponents attempted to resist him by force, but they were defeated, and fled the country. In September, 1764, Stanislaus Augustus was solemnly proclaimed king of Poland, and the triumph of the foreign factions in Polish affairs was secured. The members of the Greek Orthodox Church presented a petition for religious equality to the Diet in 1766, but it was rejected, and on its rejection, the Greeks formed a confederation at Sloutsk under the protection of Catherine II., while the Lutherans, at the instigation of Prussia, formed a similar league at Thorn. Russia was resolved to carry her projects at the Diet of 1767. Every precaution was taken to win support by threats and promises. The deputies, who led the opposition, were arrested by orders of the Russian government and sent out of the country. In these circumstances nothing remained for the Diet except to proclaim religious equality, the Catholic religion, however, being recognised as the religion of the state. When this measure had been carried the Russian troops evacuated Warsaw.*

Some of the Polish nobles, anxious to maintain the constitution and to oppose the concessions granted to the Dissidents, met and formed what is known as the Confederation of Bar (1768). Their motto was "*Pro Religione et Libertate*," and their banner bore an image of the Crucifixion and of the Blessed Virgin. The religious aspect of the movement appealed to the people, and soon thousands flocked to their standards. Deputies were despatched to the courts of Austria, France, and Saxony to seek for assistance, while Stanislaus appealed to Russia to aid him in crushing the rebellion. The progress of the war was marked by fearful cruelties, especially on the part of Russia. France lent some aid in officers and money, and encouraged Turkey to declare war on Russia owing to the violation of Turkish territory by Russian soldiers in pursuit of Polish refugees

* Rambaud, *Histoire de la Russie*, Chapter XXX., p. 464.

(1768). But the mobilisation of the army of Turkey required some time, and before their forces were ready to take the field the Confederates were practically driven into Austrian territory. Against Turkey, too, the armies of Catherine II. had considerable success, and Austria began to get alarmed at the progress of the Russian power.

Frederick II. now intervened to secure the realisation of the scheme on which he had fixed his heart, namely, the partition of Poland. Such a partition was required to unite East Prussia with the rest of his territory, and to make Prussia a compact kingdom. He warned Russia that the only way of avoiding a conflict with Austria and France was by abandoning the hope of conquests along the Danube in favour of a division of the Polish kingdom, while he secured the support of Joseph II. and his minister, Kaunitz, by pointing out that in such a division lay the best barrier against Russian ambitions in the West. Prussia and Austria had already occupied the portions of Poland contiguous to their respective frontiers, and it only required an agreement between the three powers, Russia, Prussia and Austria, to regularise the occupation. In January, 1772, the partition treaty was concluded between Russia and Prussia, and the agreement of Austria was secured in August of the same year. By this treaty Russia secured the immense territory, known as White Russia, with a population of 1,600,000, Austria, Red Russia and Eastern Galicia, with 2,500,000 inhabitants, and Prussia a large strip of territory, known as Polish Prussia, with the exception of the districts of Dantzic and Thorn. The partition was announced to the king of Poland in September, and both king and Diet were obliged to accept the situation.

From 1773 till 1791 Poland made serious efforts at reform. The schools and universities were improved, the army was reorganised, the finances regulated, and public opinion enlightened as to the necessity of putting an end to the anomalous constitution which divided the

strength of the nation and threatened to deliver it an easy prey to the ambitions of the neighbouring states. Frederick William II. of Prussia (1786-1797), jealous of the progress of Russia, concluded an alliance with Poland, while at the same time Russia was weakened by its wars with Turkey and Sweden. A new constitution was drawn up, according to which the monarchy was declared to be hereditary in the royal family of Saxony; the *Liberum Veto* was abolished, and a Diet of two chambers was established. A number of Poles, discontented with these reforms, appealed to Catherine II., who encouraged them to form the Confederation of Targovica, and promised to support them in their opposition to the new constitution by force of arms. A Russian army, 100,000 strong, crossed the frontiers of Poland, and occupied Warsaw. The Poles appealed to their ally, Frederick William II. of Prussia, but he repudiated his pledges, and sent his soldiers into Poland, not, indeed, to aid the Poles in their struggle against Russia, but to assist the Russian Empress in carrying out a second partition of the country. Austria was excluded from any share of the spoils on this occasion. Prussia secured Thorn, Dantzig and the territories which are now known as South Prussia and South Silesia with a population of a million and a half, while Russia secured the eastern provinces of Poland, with three million of their inhabitants. The Diet was forced to confirm this partition, and to accept a treaty with Russia, which practically conferred on Catherine II. the rights of suzerainty over the remains of the old kingdom of Poland (1793).

The next year (1794) the Poles made another effort to free themselves from the foreign yoke. Their principal leader was Kosciusko, a Polish nobleman who had fought in the American War of Independence, and who, after the second partition, had left Warsaw and retired into Saxony. From Saxony he went to France, where he obtained promises of assistance. On his return to Saxony he worked hard in organising a huge conspiracy

in Poland, and the refusal of one of the Polish generals to disband his troops was the signal for a general outbreak against Prussia and Russia. The Russians were driven out of Warsaw, and a provisional government established (April, 1794). Kosciuszko led the Polish troops with remarkable success, but opposed as they were to the armies of Russia, Prussia and Austria there was little chance of ultimate success. The decisive battle was fought at Macejowice (Oct., 1794) on the Vistula, where the Poles were defeated, and their leader, Kosciuszko, dangerously wounded, was left a prisoner in the hands of the Russians. Warsaw surrendered in April, 1795, and the resistance was at an end.

The third partition was now carried out by the three powers, Russia, Prussia and Austria. Russia secured a territory with six million inhabitants, Prussia over three million and a half, and Austria about two million and a half. The worthless king of Poland, Stanislaus Poniatowski, retired as a pensioner to St. Petersburg, and Poland as a separate nation was practically extinct (1795).

According to the articles of the first partition treaty it was guaranteed that the Catholics should continue to enjoy all civil rights as heretofore, and they should be allowed the free exercise of their religion with the possessions and churches which they held at the time. The Empress of Russia guaranteed in her own name, and in that of her successors, that she would never use her rights as sovereign to the prejudice of the Catholic religion in the newly acquired territory. Similar pledges were given by Russia in the subsequent partition agreements in 1793 and 1795, as well as in special treaties concluded with the Holy See in 1784, 1798 and 1815.

But Catherine II. had no intention of carrying out her promises. To secure the newly acquired Polish territory permanently for Russia she felt that the populations must be won over to the Orthodox Church. The Ruthenians united with Rome had been permitted by

the Pope to retain their Ruthenian rite, but Catherine II. now commanded them to accept the Latin rite or join the Greek Church. Bohusz, the archbishop of Mohilev, was the willing assistant of the Empress in all her schemes. The Ruthenians were forced to accept this decree by force, and many of them, rather than abandon the rite to which they had been accustomed from their youth, seceded from the Catholic Church. To complete the work of conversion Catherine II. sent armed bands into the Ruthenian territory, seized the priests who were refractory, and forced the people to accept the ministrations of the Greek clergy. Pius VI. protested against these violations of sacred treaties and of the natural rights of the people, and besought Leopold II. of Austria to intervene on behalf of the Catholics, but the protests and interventions of Pope and Emperor were unavailing. The Empress suppressed all the Catholic bishoprics of the Ruthenian rite with the exception of the archiepiscopal See of Polock, and expelled the monks of St. Basil who wished to remain in communion with Rome. Before her death in 1796 it is calculated that she had separated eight millions of the Greeks united with Rome from the Catholic Church and incorporated them with the national Church of Russia.

Her successor, Paul I. (1796-1801), was more friendly disposed towards the Catholic religion. In his journeys in Italy he had made the acquaintance of Pius VI., and, on his accession to the throne of Russia, he sent a request to the Pope that an apostolic nuncio should be despatched to St. Petersburg (1797). Cardinal Litta was selected for this difficult office, and was received in St. Petersburg with respect. He presented a memorial to the emperor requesting the re-establishment of the bishoprics of the United Ruthenians with a metropolitan at Kiew, and the free exercise of the Catholic religion in accordance with the articles of agreement in 1773 and 1793. The emperor received the memorial favourably and restored the bishoprics both of the Ruthenian and Latin rite. For the United

Ruthenians he set up the dioceses of Polock, Luck and Brest, and for the Latins the archbishopric of Mohilev with five suffragan sees. The emperor restored a great many of the monasteries that had been seized, handed over the parishes, where the people, in spite of the terrorism, had remained faithful to Rome, to the Catholic priests, and endowed the episcopal sees. Pius VI., from his prison in Florence (1798), issued a brief confirming the new episcopal divisions.

Alexander I. (1801-1825), who succeeded to the throne of Russia, continued this friendly policy towards the Catholic Church. The presence of such a metropolitan as Bohusz, the archbishop of Mohilev, and metropolitan of the Latin bishoprics acquired by Russia, was more injurious to the Church than the most severe persecution. In his attitude towards the United Ruthenians he had already shown himself the willing accomplice of Catherine II. To more effectually control the Catholic Church in Poland he suggested the establishment of an Ecclesiastical Commission, which should regulate the affairs of the Latin and United Ruthenian dioceses without any reference to Rome. He himself was appointed president of this Commission, and he selected as his assistants clergymen without any other qualification except their willingness to co-operate in his designs. He tried to secure the appointment of his worthless favourites to bishoprics, granted divorce to nearly all applicants without sufficient inquiry and for money, opposed the monks of St. Basil, and accorded secularisation to all who asked it. The Bible Society was introduced from England, and found a generous protector in the person of the archbishop of Mohilev, who issued a pastoral in its favour. So flagrant was his conduct in this matter that Pius VII. was obliged to reprove him sharply in 1816, and to forbid him to have any further connection with the Bible Society.

At the Congress of Vienna in 1815 the affairs of Poland required serious attention. Many of the officers and soldiers who, under the leadership of Kosciusko, had

bravely defended their country against the foreigner, had fled to France and taken service in the army of the republic. In his wars against Russia, Napoleon was loyally supported by the Polish recruits, who looked to France for the restoration of their independence. In 1807, by the Treaty of Tilsit, Napoleon formed the Grand Duchy of Warsaw chiefly out of Prussian Poland into an independent state, appointed the Elector of Saxony king, and established a liberal constitution. In 1809 Austria was obliged to hand over to the Grand Duchy the Province of Galicia, while Dantzic was declared a republic. This was the most Napoleon would consent to do for his loyal supporters, and on the downfall of Napoleon the affairs of Poland were once again in complete confusion.

At the Congress of Vienna, Austria and Prussia received back a certain portion of the Polish territory that had been taken from them by Napoleon, and the remains of the Grand Duchy were formed into the Kingdom of Poland, with the Emperor of Russia as king of Poland. But the union of the crowns of Russia and Poland was only a personal one, on the model of that existing between Austria and Hungary. Poland, therefore, had its own constitution based to a great extent on that given to the Grand Duchy by Napoleon, and was, practically speaking, independent of Russia. The Emperor Alexander I. was generous in his treatment of Poland, allowing free discussion in the Diet, freedom of the press, and an independent Polish army.

The new political organisation of Poland required some changes in the ecclesiastical arrangements of the kingdom. Negotiations were opened up between Pius VII., and Alexander I. in 1815, and in 1817 the Pope published a brief confirming the new ecclesiastical division of the kingdom of Poland. The archiepiscopal see of Gnesen having passed with the Duchy of Posen to Prussia, Warsaw was now declared an archbishopric with seven suffragan sees, Wladislaw, Kalisz, Plotzk, Augustowo, Sandomir, Lublin and Podlachia. At

the same time the university of Warsaw was re-established by Papal brief with all the rights that it had enjoyed in the old days when Poland was an independent nation. Alexander I., who is said by some to have died a Catholic,* continued to protect the interests of the Church in Poland till his death in 1825.

His successor, however, Nicholas I. (1825-1855), reversed the friendly policy of Russia towards Poland, and restricted the liberties that had been granted by Alexander. The Russian officials acted without regard for the natural feelings of the Poles; murmurs of complaints began to be heard from many sides; secret societies were formed to overthrow the Russian power; and finally in 1831 a revolution broke out in Poland. The Polish exiles had found a home in Paris, and the government of Louis Philippe encouraged the leaders with promises of sympathy and support. The Russian Grand Duke fled, and a provisional government was established. Appeals for aid were addressed to France, but though the city of Paris, and even the Chamber of Deputies, were in favour of declaring war, the government of Louis Philippe was still too weak to intervene, and the Polish insurgents were left to their fate. General Radzivill led the army of Poland, but was unable to hold in check the overwhelming forces of Russia. The Poles themselves were weakened by divisions between the moderates and the extreme section; revolutions broke out in Warsaw against the provisional government, and shocking scenes were witnessed in the streets of the capital. The Russian army gradually surrounded the city, Warsaw surrendered, and soon the Russian general was able to announce to his imperial master that "Warsaw was at his feet." The constitution of 1815 was suppressed, and Poland was reduced to the level of a province in the Russian Empire.†

Nicholas I. adopted, also, an attitude of opposition

* Shahan, *American Cath. Quart.*, 1905, pp. 545-47.

† Rambaud, *Histoire de la Russie*, pp. 650-58.

to the Catholic Church. He suppressed (1828) the diocesan organisation that had been established for the United Ruthenians, set up two metropolitan sees instead of one, placed the monks of St. Basil under the jurisdiction of the bishops, and placed the whole Church, metropolitans, bishops and clergy under the jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Commission having its seat in St. Petersburg. The Latin Church did not escape persecution. The Emperor ordained in 1828 that no novice should be received into the monasteries till permission had been given by the civil authority, and that no student should be received into the seminaries until he presented his titles of nobility, had made his studies at a university, was at least twenty-five years of age, and had obtained the permission of the Minister of Worship. In 1830 the marriage laws were warmly debated in the Polish Diet. The Emperor wished to take away all the jurisdiction in matrimonial suits from the ecclesiastical courts and hand them over to the civil judges. This was warmly resisted by the Poles, and the bishops who led the opposition to the Russian proposals were banished from Warsaw.

The revolution did not tend to change the ecclesiastical policy of Nicholas I. Though Gregory XVI. had sought to conciliate the Emperor by his brief to the bishops of Poland exhorting them to preach submission (1832), yet the memorial sent by the Pope at the same time to the Russian ambassador produced no effect. The memorial is, however, useful as indicating the position of the Catholic Church in Russian territory at this period. The Pope demanded that the prohibition against holding communication with the Holy See should be removed, that more dioceses should be created to meet the wants of the people, that the restrictions upon the exercise of episcopal authority should be removed, that the goods of the Church that had been confiscated should be restored, that the education of the clerical students should be left in the hands of the bishops instead of being committed to the care of a

Commission, many of the members of which were not even professing Catholics, that more suitable clergy should be promoted to the episcopal sees, that the ecclesiastical discipline with regard to monasteries and the divorce laws should be restored, and that for the protection of Church interests and to prevent misunderstanding, a nuncio should be allowed to take up his residence in St. Petersburg.

Nicholas I. paid no attention to these very reasonable demands. On the contrary, he proceeded more quickly in his work of separating the United Ruthenians from the Catholic Church. He suppressed all their seminaries, and insisted that the clerical students should be sent to St. Petersburg for their education. There, they were placed under the control of professors devoted to the imperial plans. The Ecclesiastical Commission governing the United Ruthenian Church was incorporated with the Commission governing the Russian schismatical Church. Men were appointed as bishops among the Ruthenians who were pledged to secure the apostasy of the Ruthenian Church. The priests who offered any resistance were arrested and sent into Siberia. Churches were everywhere seized, and handed over to schismatical ministers. The people who refused their ministrations were terrorised by bands of soldiers.

When everything was ready, and when the Metropolitan who stood loyal to Rome was dead the three apostate bishops published in 1839 their Act of Union with the Orthodox Church. This was signed by 1,300 priests. The emperor announced to the world that the Ruthenian Catholics had freely selected to abandon Rome and join the Greek-Russian Church. Public rejoicings were commanded, and a medal was struck to commemorate this glorious union. Meanwhile, the unfortunate monks and priests and people, who refused to acknowledge the apostasy, were treated as rebels and expelled from the country, or sent into Siberia as convicts. The people were commanded to accept the religious ministrations of the schismatical clergy, to allow

them to baptise their children, to attend their masses, to receive from their hands the Holy Communion. Many of them refused, and fled to the woods, depending for their salvation on God alone rather than hold any communication with such ministers of religion. The position of these unfortunate people was sad in the extreme.

France and Austria stood by silent witnesses of this oppression. Gregory XVI. remonstrated with the emperor, and his representations having proved fruitless he determined to make a public protest. In July, 1842, he delivered an allocution to the cardinals recounting the misfortunes of the Catholic Church in Russia, and complaining of the attitude of the Emperor. It was high time for Gregory XVI. to make a public protest, for most people who followed the course of events would be likely to conclude that if in his confirmation of candidates appointed to bishoprics, and in his general bearing towards the Emperor, he had adopted a firmer attitude he would have played a nobler part. The explanation of the Pope's apparent weakness is to be sought for in the political condition of Europe at this period. Nicholas I. had placed himself at the head of the anti-revolutionary or possibly anti-liberal party, and was looked up to by all the governments as a kind of dictator. The Pope, therefore, had no hope of gaining any concessions except by mildness and a readiness to meet the wishes of Russia as far as it was possible.

Nicholas visited Rome in 1845, and had an interview with Gregory XVI. Though the communications between Pope and Emperor apparently produced no good effect at the time, yet they evidently led to an understanding, for two years later a concordat was concluded between the Holy See and Russia (1847).* The concordat was signed at Rome in August, 1847, by Cardinal Lambruschini in the name of Pius IX., and by Counts Bloudoff and Boutenieff in the name of the

* Nussi, *Conventiones*, XXXVI.

Emperor, Nicholas. It contains thirty-one articles dealing with the number and limits of the bishoprics in Russia and Poland, with the endowments of the churches and seminaries, with the method of electing bishops, and appointing parish priests, and with the free exercise of episcopal jurisdiction in ecclesiastical affairs, more especially in regard to the education of the clerical students.

Pius IX., in announcing to the cardinals the conclusion of this concordat, made it clear that there were many other matters on which no agreement could be arrived at, and which were a source of great anxiety to the Holy See. These regarded principally the prohibition forbidding the Catholic subjects of Russia from communicating freely with the Pope, the Russian laws on mixed marriages and divorce, the regulations in connection with passing from the Greek Church to the Catholic Church, and the unhappy lot of the persecuted Ruthenians.

Though the concordat had been concluded, the policy of Nicholas I. was still hostile to the Catholic Church, and the terms of the agreement remained, practically speaking, a dead letter. Like Catherine II., however, Nicholas I. considered himself the champion of religious liberty in the neighbouring countries, a rôle which involved Russia in the disastrous Crimean war. France claimed the protectorate over the Latin Christians of the East, and in the exercise of the protectorate rights demanded from Turkey certain concessions for the Catholics in the Holy Places of Palestine. The Sultan yielded to the request of the French, and the Emperor of Russia, considering this concession as an attack upon his rights as protector of the Orthodox Christians of the East, demanded further guarantees from Turkey which were promptly refused. The object of Russia was to dismember the territory of the Sultan, but France and England joined hands with Turkey against Russia, while Austria and Prussia formed a defensive league to protect themselves against attack from the same power.

The war broke out in 1853, and was ended after the fall of Sevastopol in 1855 by the Peace of Paris (1856). The death of Nicholas I. in 1855, and the check received by Russia in the Crimean war led, as shall be seen, to a more liberal treatment of Catholics in the Russian Empire.

CHAPTER VII

THE PAPACY AND ITALY

Duerm, *Vicissitudes Politiques du Pouvoir Temporel des Papes, de 1790, à nos jours*, Lille, 1890. Wiseman, *Recollections of the Last Four Popes*, London, 1858. Artaud, *Histoire du Pape Pie VII.*, 2 vols., Paris, 1836. Idem, *Histoire du Pape Léon XII.*, Paris, 1843. Idem, *Histoire du Pape Pie VIII.*, 2 vols., Paris, 1843. Sylvain, *Grégoire XVI. et son Pontificat*, Lille, 1890. *Mémoires du Cardinal Consalvi*, 2 vols., Paris, 1864. Pacca, *Memorie Storiche*, Rome, 1830. Nielsen, *The History of the Papacy in the Nineteenth Century*, London, 1906. De Haussonville, *L'Église Romaine et le Premier Empire*, 5 vols., Paris, 1870. Orsi, *L'Italia Moderna*, Milan, 1902.

BARNABAS CHIARAMONTI, the future Pius VII., was born of a noble family in Caesena (14th Aug., 1742), and at the age of sixteen joined the order of St. Benedict. He was professor in one of the Benedictine houses in Rome when he received from Pius VI. his appointment to the see of Tivoli, from which he was sent to Imola. In 1785 Pius VI. created him cardinal. During the days of the French campaign in Italy, and the invasion of the Papal States, the diocese of Imola was, from its geographical position, specially open to attack, and the conduct of its cardinal bishop in recommending to his flock obedience to the republic, attracted the attention of those who were anxious that the future Pope should recognise accomplished facts, and adapt his policy to the new ideas of liberty and government.

The state of affairs in Italy at the death of Pius VI. (29th Aug., 1799) was comparatively favourable. The Austrians had driven the French out of the northern portions of the Papal States, while Naples had put an end to the Roman Republic. Still, it was not convenient

to hold the conclave in Rome, and on the invitation of the Emperor, Venice was selected. The conclave, at which were present thirty-five of the forty-six cardinals, opened on the 30th November, 1799. Consalvi acted as secretary to the assembly. In this position he gave ample proof of the possession of those diplomatic and administrative powers which enabled him to play a most important part in shaping the papal policy during the whole reign of Pius VII. Ercole Consalvi * was born in Rome in 1757, studied theology and law at Frascati and at Rome, received an appointment in the administration of the Papal States in 1786, and in 1792 was appointed auditor in the Rota, the highest of the Roman Courts. He was never ordained a priest, and it was only at the age of forty-three when he was being appointed cardinal that he received the minor orders.

In 1796 Pius VI. appointed him a member of the commission engaged in reforming the papal army, but the undertaking proved a failure, and, on the invasion of the city of Rome by the French troops, Consalvi was arrested (1798), and after a while spent with Pius VI. near Florence he was allowed to retire to Venice. While there, he was appointed secretary to the conclave, and as subsequent events proved, no choice could have been more fortunate. Owing mainly to his exertions, the Austrian nominee, Cardinal Mattei, was defeated, and Barnabas Chiaramonti, the zealous defender of the rights of the Holy See, was elected (14th March, 1800), and assumed the title of Pius VII.

Pius VII. refused the invitation of Austria to take up his residence in Austrian territory, while, at the same time, he insisted on the latter power restoring the two Legations of Bologna and Ferrara to the Papal States. Pius VII. set sail from Venice on an Austrian boat and landed at Pesaro, from which spot he journeyed quietly to Rome, where he arrived on the 3rd July, 1800, amidst the rejoicings of the populace. The Romans had never taken kindly to the revolution and

* Fischer, *Cardinal Consalvi*, Mayence, 1899.

the republic. They were delighted to see the Pope once again in their midst, and to find that, instead of a policy of revenge, he had adopted a policy of forgiveness. Meantime, the victory of Napoleon at Marengo (14th June, 1800) had changed the position of affairs in North Italy. The Legations that had been held by Austria were now seized by the victorious French, but, on the other hand, Naples surrendered all claims to Rome and to most of the pontifical territory that it had seized.

In August, 1800, Pius VII. created Consalvi cardinal, and on the same day appointed him his Secretary of State. The selection was particularly happy. The new secretary was endowed with all the qualities necessary for a good diplomatist and statesman, and, therefore, well fitted to guide the affairs of the Papacy at a time of exceptional difficulty. He introduced many reforms into the papal administration, compensated those who had bought the national property, encouraged agriculture by abolishing the taxes on corn, and endeavoured by taxation of the clergy and other devices to lighten the National Debt which had assumed alarming proportions owing to the war indemnities paid to France, and the ravages of the revolution.

During the negotiations for a concordat between the Holy See and France Consalvi played the foremost part. His position, in face of the power and obstinacy of the First Consul, was a peculiarly difficult one, but Consalvi's diplomatic genius stood him in good stead, and in the end, to the astonishment of most people, he succeeded in arranging a satisfactory peace. Napoleon was pleased with the Secretary of State, but his satisfaction did not last long. The independent attitude assumed by Pius VII. in regard to the divorce of Jerome Bonaparte, the opposition to the Organic Articles, the demands for the restitution of the Legations held by France, and the refusal of Pius VII. to consider the enemies of France as the enemies of the Holy See, were attributed by Napoleon to Consalvi, whom he pretended to regard as the ally of England. Napoleon, therefore,

took measures to secure Consalvi's resignation, but it was only after the Secretary of State had again and again tendered his resignation, that Pius VII. could be induced to accept it, and to appoint Cardinal Casoni to be his successor. During the terms of office of Casoni, Doria and Gabrielli, Consalvi continued to direct in secret the councils of the Holy Father.

From the coronation of Napoleon I. in Paris the difficulties between the Holy See and France continued to increase, and at last Napoleon seems to have taken the desperate resolve of seizing the Papal States, of incorporating them with France, of transferring the Papacy from Rome to Paris, and of reducing the Pope to the position of a dependent upon the charity of the Emperor of France. In February, 1808, General Miollis marched on Rome with a considerable force, and took possession of the city. The cardinals, who were not by birth papal subjects, were commanded to return to their own countries; the Swiss guards were dissolved; the Papal soldiers incorporated into French regiments, and the Noble guards consigned to prison. Cardinal Gabrielli, the Secretary of State, was arrested (10th June, 1808), and sent out of Rome; and immediately Pius VII. appointed Cardinal Pacca as his successor.

The selection of Cardinal Pacca as Secretary of State at that particular juncture was most fortunate. Everything pointed to the fact that the crisis in the relations between the Holy See and Napoleon was fast approaching, and the gentle and conciliatory Pope required about him no longer smooth-tongued diplomatists, but men of unbending principle and courage. Of these qualities Cardinal Pacca had already given unmistakable evidence during his stay as nuncio at Cologne in the struggle against Febronianism, and his attitude of stubborn opposition to the insatiable demands of Napoleon soon showed that age had made no change in his firm adhesion to the policy of duty and ecclesiastical independence. The French were not slow to recognise the dangerous character of the new Secretary of State

and General Miollis determined to remove him as he had already removed Doria and Gabrielli; but Pius VII. personally intervened, rescued the cardinal from the hands of the French, and assigned him rooms in the Quirinal adjoining the Papal apartments

On 10th June, 1809, the long expected crisis came. The decree of Napoleon, issued at the palace of Schönbrunn, near Vienna, on 18th May, by which the Papal sovereignty was abolished and the Papal States incorporated into the Empire, was published in Rome on the 10th June, and at the same time the Papal colours were lowered from the Castle of St. Angelo to make way for the tricolour. The decisive moment for publishing the Bull of excommunication had come, and on the evening of that same day willing hands were found to post it up at the usual places on the doors of St. Peter's, of the Lateran, and of the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore. By this Bull, *Quam Memoranda*, the sentence of excommunication was levelled against all who presumed to use violence against the Church and her ministers, and, though no names were expressly mentioned, it was evident to both Italians and French that it was aimed principally at Napoleon and his generals.

The Romans were delighted with the action of the Pope, while the French, fearing the effect of such a bold stroke, determined to push matters to extremes, and to remove Pius VII. from the capital of his states. On the morning of the 6th July General Radet surrounded the Quirinal with French troops, and having forced his way into the Pope's apartments demanded that Pius VII. should abdicate his sovereignty over the Papal States. The Pope replied that he was only the guardian of the rights of the Church, and that it was impossible for him to renounce the temporal sovereignty. Thereupon the Pope and the Secretary of State were arrested, placed in a carriage waiting for them outside the Porta del Popolo, and brought to Florence. From Florence they were conducted by Genoa and Turin to Grenoble, where Pius VII. had the happiness of blessing the tomb

of his saintly predecessor. Finally, Pius VII. was sent as a prisoner to Savona, while Cardinal Pacca was separated from him, and despatched to Fenestrelle. By a decree of the Senate (Feb., 1810) Rome was declared to be the second city of the Empire; the Popes for the future were to take an oath of allegiance to the Emperor; their annual allowance was fixed at 2,000,000 francs; and palaces were to be assigned to them in Rome or in Paris according to their wishes.

From the measures taken by Napoleon it is perfectly clear that he was resolved to bring the Papacy under the control of France, to transfer the seat of ecclesiastical government from the Tiber to the Seine, and to use the Pope, the cardinals and the congregations as agents to carry out his scheme of universal domination. The cardinals, with the exception of a few old men, were sent to Paris by General Miollis, and on the refusal of Consalvi and Di Pietro to leave Rome without the Pope's permission, they were arrested in January, 1810, and conducted to Paris. The archives of the congregations were likewise seized and despatched to Paris. Here, the cardinals to the number of twenty-nine lived as the pensioners of the French government, but it is to the credit of Consalvi that in spite of financial difficulties he refused to touch a farthing of the pension assigned to him.

Hardly had Consalvi arrived in Paris when the preparations for the marriage ceremony between Napoleon and Maria Louisa were begun. Thirteen of the cardinals refused to attend the ceremony, the most prominent of whom were Consalvi, Di Pietro, Mattei, and Della Somaglia, while the other sixteen accepted the invitation. As a punishment for the obstinate attitude of the former, Napoleon refused to recognise them any longer as cardinals, and forbade them to use the insignia of their office. Thus was introduced the well-known division between the "red cardinals," who complied with the wishes of Napoleon in reference to the Austrian marriage, and the "black cardinals," who spurned his

invitation. At first the "black cardinals" continued to live in Paris in poor lodgings, dependent upon the gifts of the faithful, but in June, 1810, they were sent into exile to different parts of the Empire. Consalvi was conducted to Rheims, where he spent his leisure hours in preparing his *Memoirs*.

Pius VII. arrived in Savona in August, 1809, and was assigned apartments in the episcopal palace. All his trusted officials were separated from him, a close watch was kept on his correspondence, and though Napoleon made some provision for his personal comfort, he was in reality treated as a prisoner of the Emperor. The minister of Austria endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation between the Pope and the Emperor, but the demands of Napoleon were too exorbitant to admit any hope of peace. As the Pope steadily refused to solve the difficulties that had arisen in France regarding the appointment of bishops, his prison regulations were made more rigorous. In January, 1811, the prefect of Savona invaded his private apartments, seized his papers, and sent them away for examination. His servants were dismissed, the carriages placed at his disposal, but which he had never used, were taken away, and even the Fisherman's ring was confiscated.

The question of the appointment of bishops gave rise to apparently insurmountable difficulties, as Pius VII. refused to confer the canonical institution required by the terms of the concordat. Many of the dioceses were vacant, and could not be filled. Napoleon, instead of making peace with the Pope and securing from him the canonical institution, resolved to convoke a council of the bishops of the Empire in Paris (June, 1811). After the letters of convocation had been issued he despatched three of the court bishops to Savona to re-open negotiations with Pius VII. They arrived in Savona in May, 1811, and to their request that the Pope should accept the Gallican Articles of 1862, Pius VII. returned a decided negative. With regard to the canonical institution of the bishops he was at first unwilling to make any

concession, but, wearied by the importunity of the bishops and of the prefect of Savona, and fearing the consequences, if the approaching Council should adopt a schismatical attitude, he at length agreed that the concordat should be amended, so that the Pope should be bound to confer canonical institution on the candidates nominated by the Emperor within six months. If he did not do so for any reason except the personal unworthiness of the candidate, it was arranged that the canonical institution might be conferred by the metropolitan or senior bishop of the province. With this verbal concession the delegates went their way rejoicing, but hardly had they gone than the Pope regretted the weakness he had displayed, and was most anxious to recall the concessions that he had made.

The Council opened in the Church of Notre Dame (17th June, 1811), and, as has been pointed out, the Assembly did not prove so compliant as the Emperor expected. The majority soon showed that they were more attached to the Pope and the Church than to the Empire, and that they were unwilling to aid the Emperor in overcoming the difficulties which had arisen only through the war against the Pope. To overcome their obstinacy a verbatim report of the interview with the Pope was read to the assembly, but the bishops, distrusting the accuracy of such a report, or aware of the means by which the concessions had been extorted, refused to ratify the terms of agreement, and on the 11th July, 1811, the Council was dissolved.

Measures were taken to secure that the next assembly of a similar kind would be more compliant. The bishops were interrogated individually, promises of submission were extorted, and a new Council, consisting only of the bishops friendly to the Emperor, was brought together in Paris. In August, 1811, they decided to ratify the concessions of the Pope, and passed a decree declaring that if the Pope did not grant canonical institution within six months, it might be given by the metropolitan or senior bishop of the

province. A deputation of cardinals and bishops was sent to Savona to communicate the results of the Council, and to urge the Pope to ratify the decree. They so wrought upon the mind of the aged prisoner by representing to him the awful consequences of his refusal that at last on the 20th September, 1811, he consented to approve the decree.

When Napoleon set out on the Russian campaign in 1812 he was determined that, should he return victorious, the resistance of the Pope must be effectively crushed, and the spiritual power wielded henceforth according to the dictates of the conqueror of Europe. To carry out this project, it was necessary to bring the Pope nearer to Paris, and at Dresden, on his march to Russia, he issued the command that Pius VII. should be transferred to Fontainebleau. On the receipt of this order, though the Pope was ill and suffering at the time, he was obliged to undertake the hardship of such a long journey. In June, 1812, he arrived at his new prison, the palace of Fontainebleau, where he was immediately surrounded by the imperial cardinals and bishops anxious to win him over to the designs of their master. Here, as at Savona, the Pope lived in the simplest manner, refusing to utilise the means of comfort placed at his disposal, and devoting himself entirely to prayer and study.

On his return to Paris from the disastrous Russian campaign (18th Dec., 1812), Napoleon felt it convenient to open negotiations once more with the Pope. New Year's greetings were exchanged between Pope and Emperor, and in January, 1813, Napoleon suddenly presented himself at Fontainebleau, where he had long secret interviews with Pius VII. The attitude of the Emperor on these occasions has been differently painted, but, as a result of the imperial pressure, and of the exhortations of the court cardinals and bishops, Pius VII. was induced to sign the unfortunate document, afterwards known as the *Concordat of Fontainebleau*. It was wrung from him in a moment of weakness, when his

mental and physical powers were seriously impaired, and when, moreover, he was separated from his trusted counsellors, and deceived by the advice of the imperial ecclesiastics. It is clear that he did not fully recognise the significance of the concession which, by abandoning the sovereignty of the Papal States, and accepting the pension of the French government, would have reduced himself and his successors to the position of dependents. One thing, at any rate, is clear—namely, that if Pius VII. is to be blamed for his share in the concordat, he fully repaired the mistake by his prompt disavowal of the terms once his faithful counsellors were allowed to see him and explain their views.

The agreement was immediately published in France, and as a sign of reconciliation between the Pope and Emperor, the exiled cardinals, not excluding even Consalvi and Pacca, were permitted to rejoin Pius VII. at Fontainebleau. They found the Pope in a state of great despondency, and all their efforts to console him were unavailing. He immediately placed before them the terms of the concordat, and requested them to furnish him with a frank expression of their opinion upon each of the articles. The consultation was carried on under considerable difficulty, especially as some of the red cardinals were justly suspected of being more attached to the interests of the Emperor than to those of the Church. Consalvi, Pacca and Di Pietro were clearly of opinion that the concession should be recalled, and the majority accepted their views.* A document was finished on 24th March, 1813, and was signed and transmitted to Napoleon by Pius VII. In it the Pope confessed that his conscience had been deeply troubled by the concessions that he had made, that he deeply regretted the error into which he had fallen, and that, like Paschal II. in his relations with the Emperor, Henry V., he had determined to revoke concessions which, as Pope, he ought never have signed.

* Rinieri, *Corrispondenza Inedita dei Cardinali Consalvi e Pacca*, Turin, 1903.

Napoleon received the Pope's letter with surprising equanimity. He ordered that it should be kept a secret, that the bishops should be allowed to remain in ignorance of its existence or contents, and that, in the meantime, the government should act as if the concordat were still in force. He himself set out for the army to conduct his last, and, though unsuccessful, perhaps his greatest campaign. The bishops were appointed to the vacant sees, but in May, 1813, Pius VII. issued a brief declaring all the bishops, who had been recently appointed intruders and nullifying their acts. No persuasion or threats could induce the Pope to change his attitude.

The campaign of 1813 proved disastrous for Napoleon, and the allies were slowly closing on Paris. To prevent the Pope falling into their hands he was removed from Fontainebleau in January, 1814, and conducted to Savona. On the 17th March the prefect of Savona announced to him that he was free to go whither he wished. Two days later, he set out on his return journey to Rome. The cardinals were not allowed to accompany the Pope, but were sent to different places in France according to the direction of the Emperor. On his journey to his place of imprisonment at the town of Béziers, Consalvi first learned that Napoleon had abdicated, and he immediately journeyed southward to rejoin the Pope, whom he overtook at Imola. Pius VII. re-appointed him Secretary of State, and directed him to proceed to Paris to treat with the representatives of the allied powers.

The reception accorded to Pius VII. on his journey through Italy and on his entry into the city of the Popes was enough to reward him for his years of patient suffering. Two of his faithful counsellors, Pacca and Mattei, were by his side to share in the triumph, as they had shared in his misfortunes. Charles IV. of Spain, Charles Emmanuel IV. of Sardinia, and Queen Maria Louisa of Etruria attended to offer him their congratulations, while the inhabitants of Rome, princes and

populace, vied with one another in their anxiety to show their respect for the prince who alone withstood the threats of Napoleon. During the absence of Consalvi, Cardinal Pacca was entrusted with the duties of Secretary of State, and from the stern, unbending character of such a man, encouraged as he was by the conservative counsels of the allied powers, it might be expected that all traces of the French innovation would soon be extinguished. The settlement of affairs in the Papal States was not, however, a matter that could easily be arranged.

The Allies were most sympathetic in their attitude towards the Holy See. They admired the patience and unflinching courage of Pius VII. in his silent struggle against the would-be master of Europe, while at the same time, they felt that religion was the only sure safeguard against future similar waves of revolution and war. The Holy Alliance between Russia, Austria and Prussia, by which the three sovereigns bound themselves to re-settle the public laws and the international relations upon sound Christian principles, was a sign that the rulers wished to make religion the support of their thrones, and to use its influence against the spread of revolutionary theories. The Pope perfectly understood the selfishness and unreliability of such an alliance, and as the head of the Catholic Church refused to commit himself to its principles.

But he was dependent upon the powers for the restoration of the Papal States that had been seized by France and Austria. Consalvi, as has been pointed out, was despatched from Imola to confer with the representatives of the Allies. When he arrived in Paris in May he learned that the diplomatic agents of the allied powers had gone to London. Thither, Consalvi resolved to follow them, and he was agreeably astonished at the friendly reception accorded him by the English people. From London the Papal representative proceeded to the Congress of Vienna, where, though the ablest diplomatists of Europe were assembled,

Metternich, Castlereagh, Hardenberg, and Talleyrand, his great powers of persuasion were generally admired. As the Pope's representative he was granted precedence; and, though he had little confidence in the stability of the arrangements made by the Congress, he devoted himself to securing the rights of the Holy See. He claimed the restoration of the Legations, together with Avignon, Venaissin, Benevento, Pontecorvo, Parma, and Piacenza.*

The greatest difficulty was with regard to the Legations of Bologna, Ravenna and Ferrara, held by Austria. Naturally, Metternich wished that his imperial master should be allowed to remain in possession, or that, at least, they should be conceded to the ex-Empress, Maria Louisa; Prussia wished to secure them for the king of Saxony; Russia for Eugène Beauharnais; while Louis XVIII. insisted on their restoration to the Pope. Before a complete agreement had been arrived at, the news came that Napoleon had escaped from Elba, and was on his route to Paris. Pius VII., fearing the power of King Murat of Naples, who had joined Napoleon, entrusted Rome to a provisional government and fled to Genoa, where he was under the protection of the British fleet. After an absence of seventy-eight days he returned to his capital on the 7th June, 1815.

Shortly afterwards the Congress of Vienna settled the question of the Papal States. By the 103rd article of the agreement it was decided that the Pope should receive back the Legations, Ferrara, Bologna, and Ravenna, the Marches, together with Camerino, Benevento, and Pontecorvo. Only a small portion of Ferrara on the left side of the Po was left in the possession of Austria. Consalvi, though he had good reason to be proud of his success, lodged a solemn protest in the name of the Pope against the decision of the Congress on the ground that Avignon, Venaissin, and certain portions of Ferrara had not been restored. Having finished his work at the Congress, the Secretary of State

* Rinieri, *Il Congresso di Vienna e la Santa Sede*, Turin, 1903.

was free to return to Rome to devote his energies to the reorganisation of the government and resources of the Papal States.

Already Pius VII. had taken the momentous step of re-establishing the Society of Jesus that had been suppressed by Clement XIV. By the brief, *Catholicæ Fidei* (7th March, 1801),* the Pope had sanctioned the organisation in Russia, and in 1804, at the request of King Ferdinand, he had approved of the re-establishment of the society in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Members of the society had returned to the *Gesù* in Rome, and were regarded with great favour by the people. Cardinal Pacca and many of the Papal advisers strongly urged the advisability of re-establishing the society for the whole Church, and were it not for the confusion caused by the wars of Napoleon it is certain that the Pope would have acceded to their wishes. Immediately on his return to Rome, he decided to proceed at once with a measure which was desired by so many states and peoples, and on the 7th August, 1814, he entered the *Gesù* in solemn procession, and having celebrated Mass at the altar of St. Ignatius, the Bull, *Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum*,† was read and duly promulgated. The announcement of the re-establishment of the society was well received in Rome, in Spain, whither Ferdinand VII. invited the Jesuits to return, in Piedmont, then under the kindly rule of Victor Emmanuel I., in Vienna, in Switzerland, and in France. From Portugal and Brazil came the only notes of dissent, and considering the religious state of both countries, and their subjection to the freemason and Liberal parties, any other attitude would have been unintelligible. At the same time the monasteries that had been closed during the French occupation were re-opened; the monks and nuns that had been scattered throughout Italy returned to their homes; and the congregations, including that of the Inquisition and of the Index, were re-constituted.

* *Bullarium Romanum XI.*, 106 sqq.

† *Bullarium Romanum XIII.*, 323 sqq.

The political and financial affairs of the Papal States also required careful attention. The introduction of the French code of laws into the occupied provinces, and the abolition of this code and the re-establishment of the Pope's authority added to the confusion; while, though the suppression of the religious establishments and the sale of ecclesiastical property had produced much revenue, the finances of the states were far from flourishing. Many people, even those least friendly to the French, were dissatisfied with the system of government, and were anxious to have some kind of a constitution on the model of France or Spain, according to which the people might be associated in some measure with the government. Consalvi, though strongly conservative, was not a man blind to the new spirit of liberty that had arisen in Europe, and he set himself to introduce a new constitution.

In 1816, a *Motu Proprio*, establishing the new form of government in the Legations, was published.* By this document the Papal States were to be divided into sixteen delegations on the model of the French *departments*, and over each "*delegation*" an official or "delegate" was appointed. The latter was to be assisted by a provincial consultative council, the members of which were not elected by the people, but nominated by the central authority in Rome. The French regulations with regard to taxes and customs were allowed to remain, and promises were made to improve the state of education. Consalvi laboured hard to improve the judicial procedure, which, owing to the confusion between the canon law and the French code, was in a state of complete disorder. In 1817, the first portion of the new code regulating the administration of justice was published. With regard to the financial affairs all the efforts of the energetic Secretary of State proved unable to set them on a satisfactory basis.

Nor were the reforms of Consalvi received with universal satisfaction. His position at Rome was a par-

* *Bullarium Romanum XIV.*, 47 sqq.

ticularly difficult one, owing to the opposition of those cardinals and others who were jealous of all innovation, and who regarded the state of affairs before the revolution as alone consonant with strict ecclesiastical principles. These men regarded Consalvi as a liberal of the most pronounced type, and they looked upon his reforms as dangerous both in themselves and in the precedent which they introduced. They were the *Zelanti* of their day, and their leader, as might be expected from his previous history, was Cardinal Pacca.

On the other hand, many of the Italian people were entirely dissatisfied with the policy of the Restoration in Italy, and were anxious for a United Italy, in which the foreigners, especially the Austrians, should have no political power. A secret league, known as the *Carboneria*, was formed in Naples, and from Naples the society spread rapidly into the Papal States. They had their secret meetings, their mystic rites, their oaths and their passwords. They aimed at the overthrow of the "priestly" government. In 1814 Cardinal Pacca issued an edict against such secret societies, but in spite of all the measures taken, the members continued to increase, and in 1817 a proclamation was issued calling upon the people to rise in rebellion. The ringleaders were arrested, tried and condemned to death, but the Pope commuted the sentence into perpetual imprisonment. In 1821 Pius VII. issued a brief solemnly condemning the society known as the *Carboneria*. The brief seems to have had good effect, for, though other secret societies sprang up to take the place of the condemned one, the *Carboneria* lost its popularity in Italy.

Nor were the Papal States the only subject occupying the attention of the Pope and his Secretary of State. The ecclesiastical affairs in France, Spain, Germany and Austria were in a very unsettled condition, and it was necessary to conclude arrangements with the different countries on the lines of the concordat of 1801. In Spain, Ferdinand VII. agreed to return to the concordat of 1753; a temporary agreement was made with

Louis XVII. for France in 1819; a concordat was concluded with Bavaria in 1817, with Naples in 1821, and with Russia in the same year. Though the negotiations with Austria did not lead to a settlement, yet a better understanding between the two powers was arrived at after the visit of Francis I. and Metternich to Rome in 1817. The Kings of Naples and Prussia, the Prince of Denmark, and the Crown Prince of Bavaria also visited the Holy Father, while the exiled Kings, Charles IV. of Spain and Charles Emmanuel IV. of Savoy, found a refuge under the protection of the Papal court, as did also the family of the arch-persecutor of the Holy See, the ex-Emperor Napoleon.

The long imprisonment of the early years of his pontificate, and the cares of his sacred office, told steadily on a constitution that was never robust. In July, 1823, Pius VII. took ill suddenly, and was obliged to retire to bed. He lingered for about six weeks, during which time he received all the consolations of religion in a spirit of faith and resignation. Prayers for his recovery were offered up wherever the news of his illness had arrived, but it was the will of Providence that the suffering pontiff should be relieved from his earthly cares, and on August 16th, 1823, he calmly passed away. The aged Secretary of State did not long survive his master. The opponents of his policy gained the upper hand after the death of Pius VII., and although Leo XII. was personally kind towards Consalvi, and appointed him Prefect of the Propaganda, still another policy was in the ascendant at the Vatican, and Consalvi retired in a great measure from public life. He died in January, 1824.

After the usual funeral services for Pius VII. had been observed the cardinals met at the Quirinal (2nd Sept., 1823) to elect his successor. Forty-nine members of the Sacred College took part in the conclave. The Catholic powers pretended that they had no interest in the election, and that they would allow the cardinals full freedom of choice, but in reality Austria, France and

Sardinia spared no pains to secure the election of a Pope friendly, or, at least, not unfriendly, to their particular interests. The cardinals were divided into two sections, the *Zelanti*, anxious to uphold strict ecclesiastical principles in defiance of state or popular aggression, and the *Moderates*, who were attached to a programme of compromise. Cardinal Severoli was the candidate favoured by the *Zelanti*, while the *Moderates* cast their votes in favour of Cardinal Castiglioni, afterwards Pius VIII. On the 18th September, Severoli had secured twenty votes, and his election would probably have followed at the next scrutiny had not Cardinal Albani, in the name of the Emperor of Austria, vetoed the election. As a result of this action the parties in the conclave were considerably changed, and on the 28th Cardinal Della Genga, himself a leading member of the *Zelanti*, secured thirty-four votes, and was proclaimed under the name of Leo XII. (1823-1829).

The new Pope was born at Spoleto in 1760, ordained priest in 1783, appointed private secretary to Pius VI. in 1792, and sent to Cologne as nuncio in succession to Pacca in 1794. In Germany, during the wars of the Revolution, his position was a peculiarly trying one, and he was unable to take up his residence at Cologne. He remained for the most part at Augsburg or at Vienna. He returned to Rome for a short period after the election of Pius VII., and was despatched to the Diet at Regensburg in 1805 to watch the interests of the Holy See in the Empire, and, if possible, to negotiate an imperial concordat. The overthrow of the Empire put an end to all such schemes, and the papal nuncio immediately devoted his energies to the negotiation of a concordat for the Confederation of the Rhine.

During the occupation of the Papal States by the forces of France the future Pope remained in retirement, but on the return of Pius VII. to Rome he was called to take an active part in the government of the Church, having been created a cardinal in 1816, and appointed vicar of Rome in 1820.

At the time of his election Leo XII. was so weak, and his appearance was so sickly and emaciated, that another conclave in the near future was regarded by many as an absolute certainty. The state of the Pope's health amply justified such surmises, but in a short time he recovered and was able to devote himself to strenuous work. The whole policy of the Papal court underwent many changes. Cardinal Della Somaglia took Consalvi's place as Secretary of State, but though the latter no longer retained the guidance of affairs, still his advice was eagerly sought for and availed of by the Pope. In fact, the programme sketched by Consalvi in one of his interviews with Leo XII. seemed to have guided the whole policy of the pontificate.

The new Pope had little interest in political affairs, or in diplomatic schemes. He devoted himself to a complete revival of the spiritual life of the Church, and in his own life, his simplicity, his zeal and industry, he set a bright example. He tried to reform the congregations, and to keep a close watch on the proceedings of the officials, who were not well pleased with such careful attention. The theatres were reformed as well as the Roman inns, and though some of the regulations of the new pontiff were regarded as of too strict a character, still, in judging them, it should be remembered that men's minds were greatly disturbed at the time, and that the spirit of unrest and of atheism was only too apparent even among the students of the Roman universities. These latter occupied a place in the Pope's schemes of reform. A new regime and programme of studies were adopted; the secular as well as the ecclesiastical branches were organised on more modern lines; the national colleges in Rome received special assistance, while the *Collegium Romanum* was entrusted to the Jesuits.

The tone of his Encyclicals reflected the aims of his pontificate. In his Encyclical letter, *Ut primum* (3rd May, 1824) he warned the bishops against the two great dangers of the age, religious indifference leading finally to atheism, and the bible societies, which, under the

pretence of spreading God's word among the masses, unsettled their religious beliefs and brought the Sacred Books into contempt. The bible societies had been already condemned by Pius VII. In May, 1824, Leo XII. issued a Bull proclaiming a year of jubilee. Owing to the disturbances in Rome it had been impossible to observe the usual jubilee in 1800, but the new Pope was determined that the year 1825 should not pass unnoticed, and that the occasion of the jubilee should be availed of to begin a great revival of religion in Rome itself, in Italy, and throughout the world. It began with solemn ceremonies on the 24th December, 1824, and in the following year, during which the benefits of the jubilee were reserved for those who visited Rome, crowds flocked from all parts to the centre of Christendom. King Francis I. of Naples, the Infante of Spain, and the Queen-dowager of Sardinia were amongst the pilgrims. Very generous donations were received, and were devoted by the orders of the Pope to the spread of the faith in the heathen countries. In December, 1825, the jubilee was extended to the whole Christian world.

The affairs of the Papal States also claimed the attention of the Pope. In the Campagna and along the sea coast brigandage had become so universal that life and property were felt to be insecure. Leo XII. adopted energetic measures to put an end to such disorder, and partly owing to the sternness of the military authorities, partly to the successful preaching of an aged priest, the power of the brigands was completely broken. The secret societies, especially the *Carboneria* and the free-masons, still continued their propaganda in the Papal States, and even in Rome itself. They aimed principally at securing adherents among the university students, and in order the better to further their political aims they encouraged opposition to the Catholic Church, and even to Christianity. In 1824 the Pope sent Cardinal Rivarola into Ravenna, one of the hot-beds of the *Carboneria*, to crush the movement, and in 1825 he pub-

lished a Bull against secret societies, in which he renewed all the condemnations previously issued by his predecessors. It was directed principally against the *Carbonari* and freemasons who, under colour of a political campaign, were making such dreadful havoc with the religious faith of the younger generation of Italians. But neither the condemnation of the Pope nor the efforts of his legate were sufficient to prevent the spread of the secret societies in the Papal States.

Though not anxious about political intermeddling, Leo XII. succeeded in maintaining a good understanding with the principal powers. He followed the course of events in France under Charles X. with interest; the Spanish colonies of South America, which had become independent, received new bishops; concordats were arranged with Holland and Hanover; while for a brief period during the Greek war of freedom great hopes of a reunion between the East and the West were entertained at Rome.

The Pope attended the ceremonies of Candlemas Day, 1829, in the Sistine Chapel, and a few days later it was announced that he was seriously unwell. His condition was so serious that on the 9th February he requested that the last Sacraments should be administered, and on the next evening (10th Feb., 1829) he calmly passed away. His pontificate was not marked by any striking events, but the example of his own life and the measures which he took to promote a revival of faith and religious life were particularly required at the period. On account of his strict views, and his unwillingness to dabble in political concerns, Leo XII. was far from popular with officials and statesmen, and his death was hailed by such parties as a great relief.

In February (22nd) the cardinals assembled at the Quirinal for the election of a new Pope.* Fifty members of the sacred college took part in the deliberations. The appointments made by Leo XII. had not changed the balance of parties amongst the cardinals, and once

* Dardano, *Diario dei Conclavi del 1829, 1830, 1831*, Florence, 1870.

more, as at the former election, the *Zelanti* and the *Moderates* were sharply divided. France, Austria, Spain and Sardinia followed the course of events with the greatest interest, and their diplomatic representatives spared no pains to communicate their views to the individual cardinals. France and Austria desired the election of a *Moderate*, while Sardinia, desirous of lessening foreign influence in Italy, naturally preferred the election of a *Zelante*. After a conclave, lasting five weeks, Cardinal Castiglione, bishop of Frascati, secured the required majority, and was proclaimed Pope, with the title of Pius VIII., on 31st March, 1829.

Francesco Xavier Castiglione was born in 1761, studied under the celebrated canonist Devoti, whom he assisted in the publication of the *Institutiones Juris Canonici*, was appointed bishop in 1800, banished by Napoleon to Mantua and Milan during the French occupation of the Papal States, recalled by Pius VII. at the Restoration, and created a cardinal. He was a man of good literary ability, sound ecclesiastical principles, and great piety of life. He began his pontificate by forbidding his relatives to come to Rome lest even the suspicion of nepotism should interfere with his measures of reform.

His pontificate, however, lasted too short a time (twenty months) to enable him to realise his plans. The severities of his predecessor were abolished, but the condemnations of religious indifferentism, bible societies, and secret associations were renewed. A few days after his elevation to the See of Peter the news that the Emancipation Bill had been passed and had received the sanction of George IV. reached Rome, and was the signal for general rejoicing in the city. Such an event seemed to augur well for the new reign. The first stage of the mixed marriages controversy was reached by the letter of Pius VIII. to the Prussian bishops in 1830, by which he permitted "passive assistance" at such marriages in case nothing better could be done. The revolution in Paris and the revolutions in Poland and

Belgium disturbed the last few months of the Pope's reign. Nor did the Papal States escape the dangers that then threatened Europe. Before the storm burst Pius VIII. was called to his eternal reward (1st Dec., 1830).

The conclave for the election of his successor met (14th Dec., 1830) under peculiarly difficult circumstances. The revolution that had already spread over most of Western Europe, had reached the Papal States, and the greatest vigilance was required to prevent a rising in the city of Rome itself during the interregnum. About forty-five cardinals assembled in conclave. The Catholic nations again professed absolute neutrality, but their actions were not in accordance with their professions. Austria, France, Spain, Naples, and Sardinia took active measures for the support of their own particular interests. Cardinals Pacca, Di Gregorio and Giustiniani were the favourites at first, and it seemed likely that the latter might have been elected had not the representatives of Spain solemnly interposed its veto. He had been formerly nuncio in Spain, and was under suspicion on account of his supposed connection with the Carlists. Finally, after a conclave lasting fifty days, Cardinal Capellari was elected Pope (2nd Feb., 1831), and in honour of the founder of the Propaganda, of which institution he himself was the Prefect, he assumed the title of Gregory XVI.

Bartolomeo Alberto Capellari was born in 1765. Early in life he joined the Camoldolese monks, and took up his residence at Rome in one of the houses of that order (1791). Here he was favourably known on account of his intellectual gifts, and his work in defence of the Church and the Holy See, published during the stormy days of 1799, brought him into prominence as an ecclesiastic of ability and courage. During the French occupation of Rome he fled to his old monastery of Murano near Venice, but on the restoration of Pius VII. he returned, was appointed cardinal in 1826, and was assigned the responsible office of Prefect of the Propa-

ganda. His election to the Papacy gave general satisfaction to the people and the Catholic powers alike; while, on the other hand, there were not a few who feared that a life spent in such a strict monastic order as was that of the Camoldolese monks, was not a suitable training for a Pope at such a peculiarly delicate crisis in the history of the Church.

The revolution had already spread over the greater part of Italy. The Congress of Vienna, instead of attempting some plan of unification, had left Italy as it had been before, divided into a number of little states, and, worse than all, had left Austria in possession of the fairest and richest provinces of the peninsula. Naturally enough, Louis Philippe, who owed his throne to the forces of revolution, was anxious to show his sympathy with similar movements in the neighbouring countries, and more especially in Italy. He loudly proclaimed the doctrine of non-intervention—that is to say, that the Italian states should be allowed to settle their forms of government without any dictation from outside powers, and to this principle, of non-intervention, obviously directed against Austria, he pledged the support of the government of France. The revolution soon broke out in Modena, and spread into the Papal States. Bologna was the stronghold of the liberals, of the *Carbonari*, and of the revolutionaries. Two days after the election of Gregory XVI. the rebellion began in Bologna, and spread quickly into Romagna, Umbria, the Marches and Ancona. Cardinal Benvenuti, who had been sent to quell the insurrection, fell into the hands of the insurgents, and was brought a prisoner to Bologna, where a provisional government had been elected. A conspiracy was formed in Rome itself, but the revolt in the capital was practically confined to the foreign element, and was easily suppressed. The people as a body were certainly opposed to the revolutionary party, and co-operated actively with the soldiers in putting an end to the rebellion.

It was clear, however, that the papal army was unable

to cope with the insurrectionary movement in the provinces, and the new Secretary of State, Cardinal Bernetti, found himself in the disagreeable position of being obliged to seek the armed intervention of Austria. An Austrian force was speedily despatched to the Papal States. The provisional government fled from Bologna to Ancona, where in a short time most of the leaders surrendered. The rapid and unopposed march of the Austrian soldiers does not speak well for the popularity of the provisional government, just as the generous treatment meted out to the leaders of the rebellion took away all foundation for any charges of harshness or severity that might be levelled against the Papal regime (March, 1831).

The intervention of the Austrians put an end to the insurrection, but the principle of foreign intervention once invoked cannot be set aside at will. If the foreigners were entitled to assist the Pope with a military force, they claimed the right of dictating to him the reforms which he should introduce into the Papal States. The representatives of Austria, Russia, Prussia, France and England drew up a memorandum of the reforms which, in their opinion, should be undertaken (May, 1831). According to this memorandum the five great powers demanded that Gregory XVI. should proclaim a general amnesty, that elective councils, communal, municipal and provincial, should be established, that laymen should be appointed to the judicial posts and to the civil service, and that an assembly of nobles should be formed as a council of state to assist in administration and in finance. Such demands were in themselves not unreasonable, but if the attitude of England, Russia, Prussia and Austria towards the introduction of such reforms in their own provinces be considered, their memorandum to the Pope must be regarded as an act of unparalleled hypocrisy.

The amnesty was proclaimed for all political prisoners with very few exceptions; laymen were appointed as judges in the provincial courts; courts of appeal were set up; the municipal and provincial councils were estab-

lished; but, as in 1816, not on the principle of election but of nomination. It was also arranged that the officials of the legates in the administration of the provinces were to be laymen. In regard to a lay council of state the peculiar mixture of the spiritual and secular power in the Papal government made the situation an exceedingly embarrassing one. The Papal States were looked upon as the domain of the Head of the Catholic Church, and, hence, the division of the government between the Pope and his ecclesiastical council, the college of cardinals, on the one hand, and a lay council of state on the other, was attended with so great inconveniences that Gregory XVI. shrank from effecting such an innovation. Nor were the great powers anxious to force him to such a step. When the first burst of reforming zeal had passed they began to realise the incongruity of forcing the sovereign of the Papal States to introduce reforms which they themselves had steadfastly rejected in their own dominions.

The reforms granted did not, however, satisfy the popular demands, and the starving condition of the lower classes, brought about in great measure by the ruin of commerce, agriculture and industry caused by the revolutionary movement, made them an easy prey to agitators and conspirators. Further reforms were demanded and were conceded, at least, in part. A new rebellion broke out in the Papal States, and once more the Secretary of State was reluctantly obliged to sue for Austrian intervention (Jan., 1832). In reply to this invitation the Austrian general, Radetzky, occupied Bologna, while, as a counter move, France seized the port of Ancona, and settled a garrison there in spite of the protests of Gregory XVI. and of Metternich. The French were at first on the side of the Liberals, but the assassination of the Papal governor of Ancona opened their eyes to the character of that section, and they adopted a friendly attitude towards the Pope. Both powers, Austria and France, maintained their garrisons in the Papal territories till 1838, notwithstanding the

protests of the Secretary of State who refused to avail of their services to preserve order.

The experiences of the effect of the revolutionary principles in his own states tended to prejudice the mind of Gregory XVI., not alone against popular agitation, but even against certain liberal theories of government which, under other circumstances, might have been more favourably received at the Papal court. Thus, it is clear that Gregory XVI. viewed with no small alarm the rebellion in Belgium, though it was a rebellion of a Catholic people driven to such a step mainly by the religious bigotry of Holland, while at the same time he wrote a rather strong letter to the bishops of Poland against their associating themselves and their religion with the political struggle then being waged in that unhappy country against the Russian tyrant. At the same time, it is only fair to state that in this latter case Gregory XVI. was neglecting no means of urging Russia to a more just treatment of her Polish subjects, and he feared that the success of his representations would be endangered by what he well knew must prove a hopeless struggle. In these circumstances, too, one can well understand how, though personally friendly to Lamennais, Lacordaire, and Montalembert, Gregory XVI. could not approve the wild theories of religious and political freedom that had been put forward by them in their paper, *L'Avenir*, and how he was obliged to issue such a strong condemnation of the anarchical and indifferentist principles underlying the new Liberal movement as is contained in the Encyclical, *Mirari vos* (1832).*

Nor was the condemnation of the party of *L'Avenir* the only warning which Gregory XVI. was obliged to issue. The writings of Hermes, professor of philosophy in Bonn, were brought under the notice of the Holy See after they had been the subject of heated controversy in Germany, and in 1835, when the teaching had been carefully examined by Reisach, Rector of the Propaganda,

* *Bullarium Romanum XIX.*, 126 sqq.

and the distinguished theologian, Perrone, it was condemned by a papal brief to the archbishop of Cologne. The Abbé Bautain, professor of philosophy in Strassburg, put forward theories on the relation between faith and intellect, which, by conceding too much to faith, seemed to cut away the very foundations of revealed religion. His denial of the powers of the human intellect to arrive at a correct knowledge of God, or to establish a rational motive for belief, was derived principally from the author's adoption of Kantian principles, and was hardly distinguishable from the traditionalism of the de Lamennais school. He was condemned by the bishop of Strassburg in 1834, and the condemnation was approved by Gregory XVI. on 9th December of the same year. The Abbé Bautain undertook a journey to Rome in defence of his views (1838), but failed, and in 1840 he made his submission. In 1840, too, an attack was levelled against the teaching of Rosmini, who was accused of favouring Jansenistic ideas, but after careful inquiry Gregory XVI. merely ordered that both parties should keep silent.

It cannot be denied that Gregory XVI. made serious efforts to introduce reforms and improvements into the Papal States, that in regard to the administration of justice, the expenditure of the taxes, and the encouragement of agriculture, commerce, and education he appreciated the prevailing defects, and sought to apply a remedy. But the peculiar situation of his government, the constant disturbance caused by secret conspirators, who were often foreigners, the fear that concession would only lead to further impossible demands, tended to diminish the extent of the reforms. In one point, however, neither the earnestness nor the success of Gregory XVI. can be questioned, and that is, in regard to the favour and assistance freely given by him to the encouragement of the arts and science.

He established two museums at the Vatican, one for Etruscan, and the other for Egyptian antiquities, and set up another at the Lateran for Christian antiquities.

During his reign, Rome became once more what it had been before the Revolution, and what Consalvi had aimed to make it, the patroness of the arts and science. It was then that the great painters, Overbeck, Küchler, who became a Franciscan friar (+ 1886), Minardi, Podesti, and Camuccini were at work under the constant encouragement of the Pope, while at the same time sculptors like Thorvaldsen, Fabris and Tadolini received every token of favour and approval.*

It was then, too, that scholars like Angelo Mai, Giuseppe Mezzofanti, and Gaetano Moroni were assisted in the literary works, some of which, even to-day, are regarded by experts as masterpieces in their own departments of knowledge. Mai, who was a noted linguistic student, and who, both before and after his appointment to the office of librarian in the Ambrosian library at Milan, had become famous on account of his discoveries of manuscripts and for his critical editions, was summoned to Rome by Pius VII., and appointed librarian of the Vatican. Here he continued his researches with the same energy and success, under the constant patronage of Pius VII., Leo XII., and Pius VIII. In 1838, Gregory XVI. raised both Mai and Mezzofanti to the rank of cardinal. The Pope, too, spared no pains to assist Moroni in his preparation of the *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, which is a mine of information on matters of ecclesiastical history. The Roman University and the Propaganda owed much of their success at this period to the munificence of Gregory XVI.

The relations of the Holy See with the different states required the watchful attention of Gregory XVI. and of his Secretary of State, Cardinal Bernetti. In 1831 was published the Bull, *Sollicitudo ecclesiarum*, which declared that in accordance with its usual practice the Holy See would acknowledge the *de facto* government in any country without examining or deciding the question of its rightful title. This position, though the

* Nielsen, *op. cit.*, Vol. II., p. 81.

natural one to be adopted by the Head of the Catholic Church, was resented by some of the powers, more especially by Spain, which feared lest the Pope should acknowledge the independence of the rebellious Spanish colonies in South America. Nor was it received with favour by the enemies of Dom Miguel in Portugal. The difficulties between these countries, Spain and Portugal, continued to disturb the whole pontificate of Gregory XVI. With Prussia Gregory XVI. was involved in a serious conflict on the question of mixed marriages. This continued till the accession of William IV., when an arrangement was arrived at. The unhappy state of Poland, and the ruthless persecution carried on there by Czar Nicholas I., gave the Polish question a notorious prominence during the first half of the nineteenth century. During the rebellion of 1831, when Poland, deserted by France, was engaged in a hopeless struggle, Gregory XVI. intervened, requesting the bishops to advise peace and submission. Such an advice was not due to any want of sympathy with the aspirations of Poland, nor to the Pope's neglect of Polish interests, but to the fact that Gregory XVI. recognised the utterly hopeless nature of the struggle, and feared that continued resistance would only increase the persecution which he himself was endeavouring to allay by diplomatic negotiations with the Czar.* The apparent silence of Gregory XVI. in face of the repeated acts of violence on the part of Russia was severely criticised in many quarters, and the Pope was blamed for sacrificing Polish Catholic interests to the political interests of the Papal States. But in 1842, when all hopes of an agreement were gone, Gregory XVI. gave an answer to his critics by publishing the correspondence between the Vatican and Russia, by means of which it was seen that the Pope had not been an indifferent witness of the sorrows of Poland, and that he had left no means untried to put an end to the persecution. In 1845, the Emperor

* Lescoeur. *L'Église Catholique et le Gouvernement Russe*, 2^e éd., Paris, 1903, pp. 110-113.

of Russia visited Rome, and was received by Gregory XVI. In this interview the Pope introduced the subject of Poland, and clearly laid before the Emperor what he thought of the Russian policy in that country.

With the government of Louis Philippe, Gregory XVI. was involved in serious difficulties. The Pope had endeavoured to hold himself entirely aloof from French political quarrels, and to confine himself strictly to the attitude laid down in the Bull, *Sollicitudo ecclesiarum* (1831). He acknowledged the government of Louis Philippe, and he exhorted the French bishops to accept loyally the ruler that the majority of the people had chosen. But at the same time he refused to close the gates of Rome against the Bourbon pretenders if they wished to visit Rome, as formerly Pius VII., refused to deny a refuge to the family of Napoleon when other states were closed against them. In 1839, therefore, Gregory XVI. received the Duke of Bordeaux in audience, and thereby gave offence to the government of Louis Philippe. Besides, the resurrection of the Catholic party in France, the gradual disappearance of the old Gallican spirit to make way for a closer dependence on and loyalty to Rome, and, above all, the efforts made by the Catholics to overthrow the university monopoly in education, forced the government to adopt a less friendly attitude towards the Papacy. The friends of the university blamed the Jesuits as being the real leaders in the struggle for liberty of education, and, as if to counterbalance the agitation against the university, the Liberal party opened a bitter campaign against the Society of Jesus. The professors, Michelet and Quinet, did not hesitate to attack the Jesuits in their lectures, while Père Ravignan and his friends missed no opportunity of defending themselves.

The government, fearing the strength of the Catholic party, and anxious to avoid an open conflict at all risks, resolved to lay the matter before Gregory XVI., and to request him to use his influence to force the Jesuits to withdraw from France. Naturally, the Pope was

not willing to yield to such a demand, but the French minister insisted that in case of his refusal France would break off relations with the Holy See, and adopt measures for the expulsion of the Jesuits. In these circumstances it was thought best that the Pope should advise the Jesuits to yield for a time and to close their schools (1845). The society immediately obeyed the Papal instructions, but as a sign of the change that had come over the French Catholics, it should be noted that the bishops were practically to a man in favour of the society, and denounced its suppression by the government in the strongest terms.

In 1836, Cardinal Lambruschini succeeded Bernetti in the office of Secretary of State. He had been general of the Barnabites, and was well known for his strictness both in his practice and in his opinions. Like Gregory XVI., he dreaded the civil results of yielding to popular clamour or the threats of revolutionaries, but it is to be feared that he carried his principles too far in refusing to undertake necessary reforms, and in suppressing every indication of discontent. The political situation in Italy had undergone a change since the days of Pius VII., Leo XII., and even since the coronation of Gregory XVI. Then, the opponents of the Holy See were principally the *Carbonari* and the other secret societies which aimed at overthrowing by revolutionary methods the religious as well as the civil power of the Holy See.

Since that time a new element had made its appearance in Italian politics—namely, the “Young Italy Party.” Its founder was Guiseppe Mazzini, who had been himself a member of the *Carbonari*, and who was arrested at Genoa in 1830, and on his release was sent into exile. While in prison he realised that the *Carboneria* was useless, that its aims were not such as would attract the nation, and that a new society should be established, the motto of which should be the unity and independence of Italy. To drive out the Austrians from the fair plains of Italy, to overthrow the rule of the petty Italian princes,

and to unite all Italy in a free republic, was his policy. To Charles Albert, the young king of Sardinia, he looked as a leader, and to the younger generation of Italians he appealed for support. The Italian exiles joined the young Italian party with enthusiasm, and on their return to the Papal States they endeavoured to win recruits. But except from the Italian students they did not find an enthusiastic response. The inhabitants of the various states of Italy differed too widely in their habits and ideals to permit the national idea to be readily accepted. Besides, the position of the Holy See was a grave stumbling block in the way, and most people hesitated to accept the principle that the Papal States should share the same fate as the other Italian principalities.

But there were other schemes for the unification of Italy besides the republicanism of Mazzini. To meet the difficulty about the Papal States it was proposed that Italy should be organised on the federal basis, that the Italian kingdoms should unite in a great confederation on the model of the Swiss or American confederation, and that the Pope should be accepted as the permanent president, just as the Emperor had been the head of the Germanic confederation. Such a plan, it was hoped, would save the position of the Pope as a temporal ruler, and would obviate the conflict between religion and national sentiment, which the *Carbonari* and many of the Young Italy Party were endeavouring to provoke.

The priest, Vincenzo Gioberti,* of Piedmont, was one of the foremost exponents of the federal idea. In 1843 he published the pamphlet known as *Del Primato morale e civile degli Italiani*, which created an enormous sensation in Italy. Against the Young Italy Party he urged that the Pope, instead of being the ruin, was the glory of Italy, that Italians should be proud to have in their midst the ruler of the Catholic Church, that they ought to freely allow him the presidency of their

* Bati, *Vincenzo Gioberti*, Florence, 1891.

national confederation, and that, while relying on the sword of Sardinia to secure unification, they ought not forget that Rome must be the heart of such a movement. Count Cesare Balbo warmly seconded the federal plan in his book, *Delle Speranze d'Italia* (1843). These two men, by substituting public agitation for private conspiracy, and by casting over their schemes the glamour of religion, produced a wonderful effect in rousing the national instinct of all educated Catholics.

Cardinal Lambruschini was, however, as opposed to the federal scheme as to the demands of the Young Italy Party. Whatever attitude he might have finally taken up, or whatever reforms he might have been inclined to make, the insurrection of 1843 organised in the Papal States by the adherents of Mazzini forced him to adopt stern repressive measures. The outbreak began in Bologna, but the vast body of the people refused to take part in the insurrection, which was quickly suppressed. Still, though the first attempt of the Young Italy Party had failed to effect a change of government, it had made the question of national unity a burning one, and urged many of its opponents, for example, D'Azeglio and Capponi, to raise the cry for a reform of government in the Papal States, and especially for such a reform as would include the separation of the spiritual and temporal jurisdictions.

Thus, in the beginning of 1846, the state of affairs in Italy was decidedly serious. The older secret societies had become merged into the Young Italy Party, which, although professing respect for religion, was determined to sacrifice the temporal power of the Pope on the altar of national unity. On the other side was the federal party equally committed to the policy of unification, but of a unification on the basis of federalism which, instead of destroying the Papal sovereignty, would, they said, increase it, by giving the Pope the position of president of the confederacy. Both parties looked to Charles Albert of Sardinia for a realisation of their hopes, and the young king, spurred on by his hatred of the

Austrians, and by his natural desire of leading a united Italy, was not averse to encourage both sections. The Jesuits were regarded as the advisers of Cardinal Lambruschini in his stern *Non Possumus* attitude, and disturbances broke out against the society in different cities of Italy. The literary attack upon the Jesuits was led by the above-mentioned Padre Gioberti in two works, *Prolegomeni al Primato* and *Il Gesuita Moderno*, while the society was defended by Francesco Pellico, the brother of the famous author and patriot, Silvio Pellico, and, curiously enough, by Padre Curci.

Nothing was wanting to make it clear that, as in the time of Pius VIII., another political storm was about to burst over Italy. Fortunately, too, for Gregory XVI., as it had been for Pius VIII., Providence had ordained that he should not be called upon to withstand it. In May, 1846, he complained of erysipelas in the face, and on the 1st June he passed away. The question of Italian unity still remained to confront his successor.

It is difficult to form an exact estimate of the character and policy of Gregory XVI. Personally he was a man of great faith and piety. As Pope he lived the same hard, simple life to which he had been so long accustomed as a Camaldolese monk. He brought to his task ability, earnestness, and untiring energy. Nor can it be said that he was opposed entirely to all reforms, for his work in the Papal States and in the Church generally would disprove such a statement. But, on the other hand, his pontificate fell upon evil days. It opened amidst a wild revolutionary outburst, before which the thrones of Europe tottered. When the tempest abated the Papal States were still troubled by secret societies and intermittent insurrections. Frightened by such scenes, Gregory XVI. detested the much-abused cry of liberty. He made little or no distinction between agitators, and he feared the policy of concession, lest, if once adopted, it might force him to advance along the route too quickly. Cardinal Lambruschini, his Secretary of State, was a man of the same unyielding char-

acter, to whom reform meant revolution. Had the Pope shown himself more conciliatory, had he endeavoured to win to his side the friends of religion and the Holy See by meeting them half way, he could not, indeed, have succeeded in averting the revolution; but he might have made the position of his successor towards the unification movement a little less difficult than it proved to be.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CHURCH IN FRANCE

(a) THE SECOND REPUBLIC, AND THE SECOND EMPIRE.

The Cambridge Modern History, Vol. XI., Chapter X., XVII. Ollivier, *L'Empire Libéral*, 12 vols., Paris, 1895, et sqq. Debidour, *Histoire des Rapports de l'Église et de l'État en France de 1789 à 1870*, Paris, 1896. Baunard, *Un Siècle de l'Église de France, 1800-1900*, Paris, 1901. Bourgain, *L'Église de France et l'État au XIX^e Siècle*, 2 vols., Paris, 1901. Cabane, *Histoire du Clergé de France pendant la Révolution de 1848*, Paris, 1908. Lecanuet, *Montalembert*, 3 vols., Paris, 1902. Salomon, *Mgr. Dupanloup*, Paris, 1904. Veuillot, *Louis Veuillot*, 3 vols., Paris, 1901-4.

THE Revolution by which Louis Philippe lost the throne in France broke out on the 23rd February, 1848, and on the following day a provisional government was established. It consisted of two parties—namely, the Republicans, who sought merely political changes in the government, and the Socialists, who demanded not merely a republic, but an entire social revolution. The representatives of the latter in the government were Louis Blanc, Marrast, Flocon and Albert.

Unlike the Revolution of 1830, the movement was not directed against the Church as well as the monarchy. The attitude of the Catholic party during the reign of Louis Philippe, its organisation, its policy of independent opposition, and its leaning towards democracy rather than towards absolutism, had extinguished in great measure the hatred of the Church that appeared to be so widespread in 1789 and in 1830. The Paris mob carried the cross in procession through the streets of Paris from the Tuileries to the church of St. Roch, while the cries of "*Vive le Christ*" resounded on all

sides; the clergy were everywhere invited to bless the trees of liberty, and were treated with the greatest respect; while the provisional government proclaimed religious freedom and the right of founding religious associations. In these circumstances, it is not strange that the Catholic leaders announced their adhesion to the provisional government. Louis Veuillot, in *L'Univers*, Lacordaire and Montalembert, declared that Catholics should rally to the new regime. The archbishop of Paris, Mgr. Affre, ordered prayers for those who had been slain in the tumults, went around the hospitals to comfort the wounded, and helped the authorities to restore public order. The rest of the bishops followed his example, while the Papal nuncio, having been notified of the change, entered into communications with the provisional government, and assured them that Pius IX. would bless their work. This spontaneous alliance of the Catholics with the Revolution has been severely criticised, but it is difficult to see why they should have acted otherwise. They were under no special obligations of gratitude to the worthless Louis Philippe; and their opposition to the provisional government, though, possibly, it might have proved embarrassing, could have ended only in a new era of persecution for the Church.

But the good relations between the Church and the provisional government did not long continue. The Socialist party, led by Ledru-Rollin and Louis Blanc, got the upper hand, and inaugurated the new regime by declaring that it was the duty of the government to find employment for every man able and willing to work, and in accordance with that policy national workshops were established. These men represented the spirit of the revolution of 1789, and they made no secret of their opposition to the Church. Amongst the most extreme section of an extreme party stood the former Abbé de Lamennais, and no man, and no journal, were more bitter in attacks upon the Catholic party for its alliance with monarchy and reaction than were de Lamennais, and his newspaper, *Le Peuple Constituant*.

The Catholic party replied to these charges, but their efforts were unable to prevent outbreaks against the clergy and the Jesuits in some of the provinces. These outbreaks were, however, confined to certain districts, and had no influence on the friendly attitude adopted by the Catholics towards the proposed republic.

The provisional government convoked a general assembly elected by universal suffrage to which should be committed the task of drawing up a new constitution. The election was fixed for the 23rd April, 1848, and all parties, pure republicans, socialists, and Catholics, threw themselves into the electoral campaign with great energy. *L'Univers* advocated loyalty to the republic, but in return for its support, the republic must grant the Church the same liberty as she enjoyed under the republican government of the United States. Montalembert took up the same position; and Lacordaire, who was the most democratic of the Catholic leaders, founded *L'Ère Nouvelle* to support his dream of an alliance between the Church and democracy. The result of the elections was not unfavourable to the Catholics. Fourteen ecclesiastics, amongst them being three bishops, Mgrs. Parisis of Langres, Fayet of Orléans, and Graveran of Quimper, were returned together with a strong body of Catholic deputies. The assembly met on the 4th May, and the republic was solemnly proclaimed amidst scenes of the greatest enthusiasm. Lacordaire, who appeared among the deputies in the white robes of his order, received a regular ovation from the Paris mob. Montalembert and he were convinced that religion was secured, and that the new era had really begun.

But they were soon undeceived. The majority of the new assembly, whether republicans or royalists, were thoroughly opposed to the socialism of Louis Blanc and Ledru-Rollin. They disapproved of the national workshops, and resolved to suppress them. This was a dangerous experiment, considering that over 100,000 men were engaged in these institutions; and it was used by the leaders of the socialists to stir up a new revolu-

tion. The workmen were armed and were in possession of the whole east side of Paris. They erected barricades in the streets, and demanded the dissolution of the assembly and the re-establishment of the national workshops. The assembly, however, was firm, and instructed General Cavaignac to suppress the disturbance. The insurgents fought with extraordinary fury, but after a sanguinary struggle of three days (24th to 26th June) they were overpowered. The prisoners were shot or transported, the Socialist journals suppressed, and though men like Proudhon and Leroux still endeavoured to keep their programme before the eyes of the assembly, the Socialist party, as such, was practically annihilated. Mgr. Affre, the archbishop of Paris, who had hastened to the barricades in the hope of preventing bloodshed, was shot.

The assembly devoted itself to the task of framing a new constitution. It accepted the republican form of government, proclaimed liberty of worship, liberty of education, the rights of property, and the duty of the state to find work or assistance for the citizens. They rejected the proposal for the re-establishment of divorce. When the constitution (116 articles) was completed it was solemnly proclaimed in the *Place de la Concorde*. The markedly religious character of the ceremony was sufficient to show that Catholicity was still strong in Paris. The hymn, *Veni Creator*, was first intoned, and when the articles had been read, Mgr. Sibour, the new archbishop of Paris, celebrated Mass, and imparted his blessing to the assembled multitudes.

According to the new constitution the president should be selected by universal suffrage. There were three candidates, Ledru-Rollin put forward by the Socialists, General Cavaignac by the republican democrats, and Louis Napoleon, son of the ex-king of Holland, by the Bonapartists and Royalists. None of the candidates was completely agreeable to the Catholics. Ledru-Rollin was impossible; General Cavaignac would give no guarantee on the subjects in which the Catholics were deeply

interested—namely, liberty of education and association—while Prince Louis Napoleon, though more favourable, was not sufficiently explicit. Still the three million votes, which were said to be at the disposal of the Catholic party were worth capturing. The prince entered into communication with Montalembert and Louis Veuillot. He gave them favourable assurances on the question of education, and when the revolution broke out in Rome (1848) he dissociated himself from his revolutionary nephew, Canino-Bonaparte, and seemed to support the maintenance of the Temporal Power of the Pope. In the end the majority of Catholics, save the small party of *L'Ère Nouvelle*, rallied to his side, and he received 5,400,000 votes as against 1,400,000 cast for General Cavaignac, and 370,000 for Ledru-Rollin (10th Dec., 1848).

It was a good omen for the Catholics that M. Falloux, one of their prominent leaders, was offered and accepted the Ministry of Education in the new government. The first question, however, that demanded the attention of the president was the revolution in Rome, on account of which Pius IX. had fled to Gaëta, from which he addressed an appeal to the Catholic powers. After some negotiations for a united intervention on the part of France, Austria, Spain and Naples the French government determined to take independent action, and General Oudinot, with a small force, was despatched to Rome (April, 1849). He anticipated no opposition but on his approach to the city he was met by a stubborn resistance, and was obliged to fall back and await reinforcements. The reinforcements were despatched immediately, and in the beginning of July the French army occupied Rome, put an end to the Roman republic, and restored the Papal government.

The new elections were held in May (1849), and the results were favourable to the Catholics. The three parties, the Catholics under the leadership of Montalembert, the Orleanists under Thiers, and the Legitimists under Berryer, united in their opposition to the Socialists

and extremists. The Catholics enjoyed more liberty than they had been accustomed to under the government of the Restoration, or that of Louis Philippe. The bishops were allowed to assemble in provincial councils, and several of these assemblies were held during the years 1849 and 1850.* But liberty of education was still the watchword with the Catholic party. The constitution of 1848 guaranteed such liberty, but that of 1830 had contained a similar declaration; and the Catholics were determined that the constitution in this instance should be carried out. In January, 1849, M. Falloux established two extra-parliamentary commissions to report on primary and secondary education. The Catholic party and the friends of the Senate were represented by their most prominent men. Montalembert and the Abbé Dupanloup were the prominent men on the Catholic side. The scenes of 1848, and the rapid rise of the Socialist party had alarmed moderate men of all sections, and had determined them to support M. Falloux in giving a more religious tone especially to the primary schools. It was soon discovered that the Minister of Education, M. Falloux, though willing to do much to satisfy the Catholic party, was anxious to secure a compromise, more or less acceptable to the University. The idea of a compromise was attacked by the more advanced section of the Catholics led by Louis Veuillot, against the advice of the moderate element led by Montalembert and the Abbé Dupanloup, and, as a result of these internal dissensions the Catholic party was broken up. The discussion on the Education Bill opened in the Chamber of Deputies in January, 1850, and was finished in March, when the Bill was carried by 399 votes against 237.

The measure was very favourable to the Catholics, especially as regards primary education.† The curés were appointed superintendents of the schools, every minister of religion might open a school, the members of religious orders were accepted as teachers on the recom-

* *Collectio Lacensis*, Freiburg, 1873, Vol. IV.

† Sévestre, *Le Concordat de 1801*, p. 120.

mentation of their superiors, the congregational teachers were exempted from military service, the official inspection was confined to purely secular matters, the municipalities were at liberty to choose religious or lay teachers for their schools, and the lay teachers were obliged to give instruction in the catechism. As a consequence of the law the number of purely Catholic schools rapidly increased. The majority of the councils declared in favour of congregational teaching, and the orders already engaged in the education of boys and girls extended the sphere of their labours, while in many dioceses new orders were founded to meet the new educational situation.

The portion of the law (sect. III.) regarding secondary education was not so favourable as might have been expected. But the monopoly of the University was broken. Every priest or member of a religious order might open a secondary school without the university certificates which were formerly required. The ordinances of 1828, which ordered all the boys in seminaries to wear the ecclesiastical habit, which limited the number of boarders that might be kept at such institutions, and forbade them to permit extern students to attend their classes, were completely abolished. Instead of the university control a general Council of Instruction, assisted by departmental boards, both nominated, and composed of the distinguished public men, lay or cleric, together with members of the provincial nobility, was charged with the superintendence of education. The results of the new law were soon apparent, for before two years had passed 257 new Catholic schools had been founded, and in 1854 the free secondary schools numbered 1,081, with 21,195 students, while, on the other hand, 52 state lycées were closed on account of the decrease in attendance.* In that year a change was introduced into the Councils of Instruction that was dangerous to the free schools. These bodies were henceforth composed of state officials or of nominated members, and sixteen superintendents of education were entrusted with the

* Baunard, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-4.

work of watching over secondary education. Most of the men on these bodies were recruited from the friends of the University, and thus, indirectly, the university monopoly was in part, at least, re-established. But, notwithstanding this check, the free schools continued to increase, and, according to the statistics of 1900, while the number of students in the government lycées or communal colleges was set down as 81,321, the students in the free schools reached the total of 91,140.*

Meanwhile, the relations between the president and the Chambers became strained. Disputes broke out about the army, the executive power, the salary of the president, and the revision of the constitution. Before his opponents had their forces sufficiently organised the president dissolved the assembly, re-established the universal suffrage, and appealed to the people to sustain him (2nd Dec., 1851). His principal opponents were arrested during the night, the remnants of the assembly were dispersed by the police, the slight attempts at resistance quickly suppressed, and Napoleon remained dictator of France. He reintroduced the constitution that had been adopted by Napoleon I., with a nominated council of state, a senate, and an elective legislative body. This was approved by 7,481,000 against 647,002 votes. All that was wanting to the president now was the title of Emperor. This was accorded to him by the senate, and the decision of the senate having been confirmed by a plebiscite (10th Dec., 1852), he assumed the title Napoleon III.

The Education Law of 1850 destroyed the Catholic party in France, or, rather, it brought to a crisis the differences of policy which already existed in its ranks.† On the one side were Montalembert, Lacordaire, and the Abbé Dupanloup, representatives of the school of Liberal Catholics, and attached to a great extent to the programme of *L'Avenir*. Their organ was the *L'Ami de la Religion*, and later on, *Le Correspondant*. On the

* Baunard, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

† Falloux, *Le Parti Catholique*, &c., Paris, 1856.

other were grouped the Conservatives or Ultramontanes round Louis Veuillot, Mgr. Parisis, and Mgr. Pie, with *L'Univers* as their principal organ. Both parties appealed to Rome on the question whether bishops should take the places given them on the central and departmental Councils of Education. Pius IX. replied that the bishops should certainly accept the places assigned them in the administration of the law, and earnestly recommended both parties to cease their strife, and unite again in defence of Catholic interests. Had the division been created by a mere question of tactics the Pope's advice might have been followed, but as it was, when the party of *L'Univers* regarded their opponents as Gallicans, and the party of Montalembert looked upon Veuillot and his colleagues as dangerous reactionaries, common action was impossible. Hence, the strife continued with disastrous results for the Catholic Church.

In 1849 a provincial council was held in Paris, and in one of its decrees a sharp reproof was given to lay editors who undertook to settle questions that were of a purely ecclesiastical nature.* Mgr. Sibour promulgated this decree in 1850, and directed it in a special manner against *L'Univers*. Louis Veuillot published the condemnation in his paper, accompanied by a notice of appeal to Rome. Immediately all the leading Catholics took sides, the liberal party supporting the archbishop or keeping silent, the others approving the appeal. The Pope did not wish to interfere in such a delicate question, and through the exertions of the Papal nuncio at Paris an agreement was arranged, but in the circumstances a permanent peace was impossible. On the question of the *Coup d'État* (1851) the Catholics were again divided, Montalembert, after some hesitation, having adopted an attitude of opposition to Louis Napoleon, while the majority of the Catholics accepted the change. The group of Catholic members that for nearly twenty years had done such good work, gradually dwindled away, and became merged with the other parties in the Chamber.

* *Collectio Lacensis*, Vol. IV., p. 27.

The publication of Montalembert's work, *Des Intérêts Catholiques au dix-neuvième siècle*, in September, 1852, showed that the trouble was too deep-seated to be easily removed.

In the same year, 1852, a new element of dissension was introduced by the publication of the Abbé Gaume's book, *Ver Rongeur des Sociétés Modernes* (1851). In this work it was contended that the use of the pagan classics in the education of youth was one of the great sources of modern corruption, and that, therefore, they should be abandoned entirely, or almost entirely, in the schools, and their places taken by the Christian classics. If, by such a change, the pupils would lose something in style, they would, he maintained, gain much in their moral and Christian education; while, so long as the existing system, by which boys and girls spent the best part of their lives in studying pagan and sometimes immoral literature, was in force, it could hardly be expected that they would grow up good Christians and good citizens. The publication of the book provoked a storm of opposition. Louis Veuillot defended the thesis of the Abbé Gaume in *L'Univers*, while the most prominent opponents on the Catholic side were the Abbés Landriot, Martin, Leblanc, and the two Jesuits, Cahour and Daniel.* They pointed out that the Catholic Church had always been the patroness of classical studies, that from the beginning they had been used in the Christian schools, and that the Abbé Gaume and his friends were endeavouring to break with a glorious tradition, and to furnish a weapon of attack to those who maintained that the Church was opposed to all true culture. The dispute grew warmer day by day, and Mgr. Dupanloup, then bishop of Orleans, interfered by a letter on education addressed to the priests of his seminary. He hoped by this means to put an end to the controversy, but his letter only added fuel to the flame. Some expressions in the letter were very severely criticised by Louis Veuillot in *L'Univers*, and the bishop of Orleans replied by prohibit-

* Daniel, *Des Études Classiques dans la société Chrétienne*, Paris, 1853-

ing the reading of the newspaper in all educational institutions in his diocese.

Although the vast majority of Catholics, both clerics and laymen, were opposed to Veuillot on this question, it did not follow that they approved the action of the bishop of Orleans. The latter followed up his condemnation by drawing up four propositions on the question of classics, and the rights of editors to interfere in the government of seminaries. These resolutions he sent around to the bishops for their approval and signature (1852). Many of the bishops attached their names to the document, but a strong body of them, notably Cardinal Gousset and Mgr. Parisis, resented such a step taken by an individual bishop as an unwarrantable intrusion on the rights of the Holy See; and thus the question of the classics had introduced a new subject of dissension among the episcopal body itself. In view of the attitude of some of his colleagues, and the probable attitude of Rome, the declaration was practically dropped. The controversy on the classics was also closed by Louis Veuillot when he perceived that the great body of Catholics were against him (1852). In 1853, Pius IX. addressed an Encyclical to the French bishops approving of the use of pagan as well as Christian classics in the educational curriculum of the colleges and seminaries.

But, hardly had the controversy on the classics begun to die out than another one was started. The translation of a book by Donoso Cortes was published under the title *Essai sur le Catholicisme, le Socialisme, et le Libéralisme*, in the *Bibliothèque Nouvelle*. In this book views very sharply opposed to those held by some of the liberal school of Catholics were expressed. The book was attacked by Abbé Gaduel, one of the vicars-general of the bishop of Orleans, and was vigorously defended by Louis Veuillot. On account of the thinly-veiled charges of Gallicanism made against him by Louis Veuillot, Abbé Gaduel complained to the archbishop of Paris, who issued a strong condemnation of *L'Univers* (1853). The condemnation brought out again

more clearly than before the two parties into which the French Catholics, clergy and laity, were then divided. Some of the bishops publicly espoused the cause of *L'Univers*, and strongly supported the appeal to Rome. Louis Veillot was himself in Rome at the time of the condemnation, and though the Pope clearly disapproved of the style often adopted by him towards his opponents, still he sympathised in the main with his policy. The situation was a difficult one, but Pius IX. managed to settle the controversy by inducing Louis Veillot to write to the archbishop praying him to withdraw his prohibition, while at the same time the Pope addressed an Encyclical, *Inter Multiplices*, to the French bishops, in which, amongst other things, he advised them to encourage the Catholic press. On the receipt of the Encyclical Mgr. Sibour immediately withdrew his prohibition (8th April, 1853).

While the Catholics in France were wasting their time in idle discussions, and bandying about the epithets "Gallican" and "Ultramontane," the faith of the educated classes was being gradually sapped. The philosophy of Hegel, transplanted from Germany, had taken root in the Paris University, and was gradually threatening the very foundations of Christianity. The philosophical publications of the distinguished Oratorian, Père Gratry, are sufficient to show how, even in Catholic circles, the scholastic principles were being gradually deserted. But Hegelianism was too subtle ever to become very popular in France. Another man was at work, Auguste Comte, whose theories, in the hands of his disciples, were destined to play a prominent part in the struggle against Christianity. In his book, *Cours de Philosophie Positiviste* (1830-42), he formulated the system of Positivism, according to which it is impossible for men to affirm anything definitely about the existence or non-existence of a Supreme Being, or about his nature and attributes. These speculations were, according to him, beyond the sphere of scientific knowledge, which is confined merely to phenomena. Though the works of

Comte, on account of their obscurity, were never destined to have a great circulation, and though the man himself, towards the end of his life, brought his party into ridicule by his fanciful theories, yet his disciples, Littré and Taine, soon popularised his teaching, and gave it practical application. The existence of God, the immortality of the soul, the Divinity of Christ, the possibility of miracles, were set aside as unfit for the present advanced stage of human development. Such theories as these spread like wildfire in the universities, in the secondary schools, in the training colleges for primary teachers, and soon became the fashionable views in educated circles.

These doctrines of relativism and materialism, applied to history, produced a veritable revolution. If men's minds could acquire certain knowledge only of phenomena and their relations, it followed that everything supernatural should be eliminated from scientific history. Hence, as in Germany, a new school of historians appeared, who, applying their philosophic principles to the New Testament, rejected the Divinity of Christ, His miracles, and everything that flavoured of the supernatural. The first real exponent of this system in France was Havet, in his book, *Le Christianisme et les Origines du Nouveau Testament*. But there was still wanting the writer who would do for France what Strauss, in his *Life of Christ* (1835), had done for Germany. This deficiency was, however, made good, when, in 1862, Ernest Renan published his *Vie de Jésus*. In this book he brushed aside all that was divine in Christ, and painted Him as a man, amiable and clever, no doubt, but still merely human. The book was cleverly written. The writer had the texts and the old worn-out objections at his fingers' ends, and he wove them together in their most seductive form. Replies were published by Freppel, then professor at the Sorbonne, by Père Gratry, in his *Critique de La Vie de Jésus*, and by Louis Veuillot, but the harm was already done, and for one who read the replies hundreds eagerly devoured the book itself.

While the educated classes were thus being seduced from Christianity, the masses of the people were being alienated from the Church, but for totally different reasons. It was being urged upon them incessantly that the Church was the enemy of freedom and of democracy, that she was the ally of the governments and of the employers, and that there could be no hope till the authority of the Catholic religion was overthrown by a great social revolution directed against both throne and altar. Later on, the anti-Christian Evolutionist school, with such leaders as MM. Bourgeois, Paul Bert, Clemenceau et Jaurès, made its influence felt on the same side.*

Nor were these movements without organisations. The society of the *Solidaires* (1862), founded in Belgium, and bound by an oath never to seek the ministrations of religion, even at the hour of death, spread into France. *La Ligue d'enseignement*, founded also in Brussels (1865), with its programme of neutral schools, found favour in France, owing mainly to the assistance of Duruy, the Minister of Education, and all the eloquence of the bishop of Orleans, who denounced it in his letters and pamphlets, could not succeed in preventing its gaining ground. The International League of Workers, the statutes of which were drawn up by Karl Marx, opened a committee in Paris (1865), and began an active and successful campaign in France. As an indication of the success with which these bodies had laboured against Christianity it will be sufficient to point out that when *Le Siècle* opened a subscription list to erect a statue to Voltaire (1878) immense sums were supplied from all quarters of the empire.

Napoleon III. was rather friendly disposed towards the Catholic Church in the beginning of his reign. He allowed the bishops to assemble in provincial councils, and to communicate freely with Rome. Their salaries were notably increased, the cardinals were assigned seats in the Senate, pensions were provided for aged and in-

* Dupanloup, *L'Athéisme et le Péril Social*, 1866.

firm priests; chaplains were appointed for the army and navy; the religious orders of men and women were facilitated in their work, and measures were taken to suppress all public crimes against morality and religion. He opened negotiations with Rome in 1854 with a view to the abolition or modification of the Organic Articles, but the negotiations produced no result. In return for this friendly attitude the majority of the Catholics gave him their strong support. Louis Veuillot, in *L'Univers*, and most of the bishops and clergy were on that side; while, on the other hand, Montalembert was opposed to the Emperor. As a friend of liberty he attacked the absolutism of the government, and, as a good Catholic, he objected to the identification of the interests of the Church with that of a government, which, on account of its almost total disregard for popular representation, was certain to rouse strong opposition in the country.

But, in 1859, a change came over the policy of Napoleon III. He suddenly adopted a more liberal attitude, and abolished some of the restrictions by which he had broken the power of the Chamber, the Senate and the press, and at the same time, under the advice of men like Prince Napoleon, Persigny, Pietri, &c., he grew jealous of the increasing strength of the Church. In his younger days he had been devoted to the cause of Italian liberty, and at the Congress of Paris in 1856 he had an understanding with Cavour in regard to the Austrian provinces in Italy. In 1858, an Italian named Orsini made an attempt on his life, and Napoleon III. seems to have understood this as a warning to him to carry out the liberation of Italy, to which, as a youth, he had been pledged. He met Cavour at Plombières (1858), and the plan of campaign against Austria in Italy was arranged. The semi-official pamphlet, *Napoleon III. et l'Italie*, made it clear to all that the Emperor was committed to the policy of Piedmont.

For a time the Italian question, involving as it did the Papal States, brought together the Catholics of France. The bishop of Orleans, Mgr Dupanloup, was as strong

in defence of the Papal States as was Mgr. Pie, of Poitiers. The Catholics were alarmed for the very existence of the Papal States, and the Emperor was obliged to reassure them. He pledged himself to preserve intact the territories of the Pope, and, on the day of his departure for the war, he attended a religious ceremony at Notre Dame to beg the blessing of God on the campaign. He set out, as he announced, to defend the Papal States as he had already defended them in 1848. But after the Austrians had been defeated at Magenta and Solferino, people began to suspect that Napoleon III. was not sincere in his protestations, and that he meant to allow Piedmont to seize the Papal territory. The French bishops issued pastorals strongly defending the necessity of the Temporal Power, and calling upon the government to take action against the party of revolution. In October, 1859, the editor of *L'Univers* was forbidden to publish these in the columns of his paper under threat of immediate suppression.

In order to settle the affairs of Italy it was determined to convoke a congress of the great powers of Europe. To prepare the way for the recognition of the revolution, and the practical abolition of the Papal sovereignty, another semi-official pamphlet appeared in Paris, *Le Pape et le Congrès* (1859), in which the Pope was advised to give up all claims to his former states, and content himself with a small territory where he might still be a free and independent sovereign. Such a publication roused the Catholics of France to renewed efforts. Liberals or Conservatives, supporters of *L'Univers*, *Le Correspondant*, or *L'Ami de la Religion*, all were united in denouncing such treachery from a government that was so deeply pledged to the defence of the Papal States. An address to the Pope was organised in the columns of *L'Univers*, but the address was prohibited by the government. The Pope rejected the counsels of the Emperor, and in the Encyclical, *Nullis Certe* (January, 1860) reproved him warmly for the difference in the tone adopted before and after the war.

The Encyclical was published in *L'Univers* on the 29th January, and on the same day the journal was suppressed. *L'Univers* did not reappear till 1867.

Henceforth, the good relations between Napoleon III. and the Church ceased. At an earlier period Montalembert had been hostile to the government on account of his attachment to liberty; others had taken up the same attitude by reason of their royalist sympathies, but now all were united in their opposition to the policy pursued by the Emperor in Italy. The Education Law was changed for the worse by a series of administrative decrees, and Duruy, a noted friend of neutral schools, was appointed Minister of Education (1863); the central council of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul was dissolved (1862); the bishops who had taken a prominent part in defence of the Holy See were looked upon with disfavour, and some of them were cited before the Council of State for abuse of their power; religious orders were attacked, and their rapid growth in numbers and in wealth was held up by the ministers as one of the great dangers for the state. The publication of the *Syllabus* in 1864 led to new difficulties in France. The Emperor issued a circular prohibiting the publication of the document in France till it had been examined, and the *Syllabus* was denounced as being contrary to the constitution of the empire. Mgr. Pie led the way in opposition to this decree, while his opponent, Mgr. Dupanloup, published a commentary on the *Syllabus*, which went a good way in removing the misunderstandings which existed regarding certain propositions. The nomination of candidates to the vacant bishoprics was a constant source of friction.

In politics, Napoleon III. was gradually driven to accept a more liberal regime, and in 1869 he fell back upon the Third Party in the Chamber, led by M. Ollivier, who undertook to follow a line of action equally removed from the reactionary policy of the royalists and the revolution of the radicals. These latter were a medley of many parties, and adopted the programme of Gambetta, liberty of the individual, of the press, and of

association; the separation of Church and State; free, lay, and compulsory education; the suppression of permanent armies, and the responsibility of all officials. This was the famous programme of Belleville, which has been followed so closely in later years by the majority of French politicians. The people, however, ratified the revision of the constitution effected by Ollivier (1869) by 7,000,000 to 1,500,000, and the empire seemed safe.

But a new danger was at hand. For years past the policy of France had been to keep Germany divided, and to prevent the rise of a united, powerful nation on her eastern frontiers. But the victories of Prussia over Denmark and Austria, and the position Prussia attained as head of the German League, threatened to create the very situation France had always feared; while, on the other hand, the reform of the military organisation effected in France in 1868, seemed to make the moment opportune for suppressing her victorious rival. Prussia, too, was anxious for war, though for a different reason; and in these circumstances very little was required to provoke a formal declaration. The misunderstandings about the election of a Hohenzollern prince to the vacant throne of Spain furnished such an excuse, and, owing mainly to the action of Prince Bismarck, war was declared on 19th July, 1870. As the events proved, the French Minister of War was entirely mistaken in his calculations. Before the recruits could be got ready, and before the general concentration could be effected, Marshal Bazaine had suffered a terrible defeat at Gravelotte (18th Aug.), and was shut up in Metz with the remnant of his army. Then came the surrender at Sedan, and the overthrow of the imperial government in Paris (4th Sept.). A new government was established with General Trochu as President, and Gambetta Minister of the Interior. The Germans surrounded Paris in September, and laid siege to the city. The new government, under the lead of Gambetta, was established at Tours, and desperate efforts were made to recruit new armies. In October, Marshal Bazaine surrendered

Metz, and the German forces, thus set free, had no difficulty in annihilating the army of the North and the army of the Loire. In these circumstances there was no longer any hope of relief for Paris, and on the 28th January, 1871, the terms of surrender were signed.

(b) THE THIRD REPUBLIC

Hanotaux, *Histoire de la France Contemporaine* (1871-1900), 4 vols., Paris, 1903-1908. Lecanuet, *L'Église de France sous la Troisième République*, 1870-78, Paris, 1907. Debidour, *L'Église Catholique et l'État sous la Troisième République*, 1870-1906, 2 Vols., Paris, 1906-9. Sévestre, *L'Histoire du Concordat de 1801*, Paris, 1905. *Livre Blanc du Saint Siège, sur la Séparation de l'Église et de l'État en France*, Rome, 1905.

The National Assembly met at Bordeaux (Feb., 1871). The majority of the deputies were strongly royalist in their sympathies, and though they decreed the downfall of the empire, they selected no form of government to take its place, but as a temporary expedient they appointed Thiers chief of the executive power. They moved from Bordeaux to Versailles in March, 1871, and, immediately, disputes began to break out between themselves and the Paris populace. The latter had possession of some pieces of artillery which the Assembly naturally demanded. This led to a new revolution in Paris, and the establishment of the Commune (18th March). For a time the wildest savagery reigned in Paris, but the Assembly ordered Marshal MacMahon to advance on the city, and suppress the Commune. The second siege of Paris began on 8th April, 1871, and by the 21st May a breach was made in the walls at St. Cloud. The Communards disputed every inch of ground, and fell back slowly before the troops, till after seven days' hard fighting, during which no quarter was asked or given, the remnant of the Communards was annihilated or captured in the cemetery of Père la Chaise.

The Assembly was strongly royalist, but as the royalists were divided into several sections, a centre

party was formed which elected Thiers president in August, 1871. Soon, however, disputes began to break out between the president, who wished to have a republican constitution permanently accepted, and the royalists, who regarded his regime as only a temporary expedient. In May, 1873, the rupture between the republican president and the royalist Chamber was completed, and Thiers resigned his office. The royalists of all shades of opinion rallied together against the republicans, and Marshal MacMahon was elected president; but it was understood that as soon as the royalists were ready with a candidate for the throne, the rule of MacMahon should cease. The representative of the Legitimist line was the Comte de Chambord, grandson of Charles X., and the House of Orleans had for its head at that period the Comte de Paris,* grandson of Louis Philippe. A fusion was effected between the Legitimists and the Orleanists, and the Comte de Paris visited his rival at Frohsdorf, and acknowledged the superiority of his claims. Negotiations were opened up between the royalist government in France and the Comte de Chambord, but, owing to the stubborn attitude adopted by the latter on some points of detail, notably whether the flag of France should be the tricolour or the white flag of the Bourbons, the negotiations broke down, and on the 5th November, 1873, MacMahon was elected president for seven years. The republican party, profiting by the dissensions and blunders of the royalists, gradually improved their position, and the adoption of the new constitution in 1875 guaranteed the existence of the republic.

During the war with Prussia nothing could have been more loyal than the attitude of the leading Catholic clergy and laymen. The bishops published most patriotic pastorals urging upon all Frenchmen the duty of defending France in her hour of trial. They opened subscription lists to assist the wounded; they allowed their seminarists to join the ranks, and they encouraged

* Flers-Majendie, *Le Comte de Paris*, London, 1889, Chap. III.

the clergy to offer their services as chaplains. During the whole disastrous campaign the Catholic chaplains were always at the post of danger; they accompanied the prisoners to Germany; and many of the clergy, on account of encouraging their flocks to resist the Germans, were arrested and sent out of the country. It is no wonder that Bismarck remarked that when the Germans arrived in France they found nobody ready to resist except the Catholic clergy. They accepted loyally the government of National Defence, but under the influence of men like Gambetta, the new government became unfriendly to the Catholic Church. It allowed the party of revolution and irreligion to organise their forces in Paris. The schools of the religious were closed in several parts of the capital, and the teaching congregations forbidden to teach. A commission was appointed in October, 1870, to prepare a scheme for lay education. When the members of the government were obliged to escape from Paris owing to the siege they fled to Tours, and the archbishop, Mgr. Guibert, generously placed his palace at their disposal, but he was unable to influence seriously their anti-Catholic policy.*

The government of Defence was unwilling to take the responsibility for an inglorious peace, and in January, 1871, the people were called upon to elect a National Assembly. In February (8th) the elections were held, and the vast majority of the new assembly were strongly Catholic. But at the same time they were royalists, divided into different sections, Legitimists, Orleanists, Bonapartists, and their divisions prevented them from doing any effective work. The Catholic body and, especially, the bishops had been divided on the question of Infallibility, and it was not in a moment all these dissensions could be healed. But the royalist tendencies of the majority of the National Assembly were sufficient to rouse all the energies of the radical, social, anti-Christian party, and the Commune was proclaimed in Paris (May, 1871). The separation of Church and State was decreed,

* Lecanuet, *L'Église de France*, 1870-78.

+ the budget of worship declared suppressed, and the property of the religious orders placed at the disposal of the nation. The churches of Paris were desecrated, and the most sacred things treated with the greatest profanation. The priests were arrested in dozens, and Archbishop Darboy,* of Paris, who refused to flee from danger, was committed to prison, where he was treated with the greatest severity. When MacMahon forced his way into the city the revolutionaries determined to shoot the prisoners. The archbishop of Paris and many of the priests, both regular and secular, were condemned to death, and died like Christian heroes. Such dreadful savagery evoked a cry of horror from all parts of the civilised world. The National Assembly, on the contrary, was thoroughly Catholic and thoroughly patriotic. They decreed that God had been too long forgotten in France, that He alone could save the nation and heal its wounds, and that public prayers should be offered up throughout France for peace and concord (May, 1871). At the same time they took steps to repair the damages inflicted by the war, and especially to pay off the heavy war indemnity, without which the Germans refused to evacuate France. A national subscription was opened. The bishops of France headed the list, and lent to the movement their most energetic support. On the question of the Papal States the government of M. Thiers was most sympathetic, but in the circumstances it was utterly impossible that France could enter upon a new military campaign for the restoration of the Temporal Power. Hence, the attitude adopted by the militant Catholics and by the bishops towards the government on this question was most imprudent. They insisted on the French government breaking completely with Italy, and by so doing, they gave the anti-Catholic republican party an opportunity for asserting that the Catholic royalists were endangering the safety of the country by rashly provoking another war, the very thing most feared by the vast body of French peasantry. The Catholic and royalist

* Foulon, *Histoire de la vie et des Oeuvres de Mgr. Darboy*, Paris, 1889.

party was henceforth regarded as immoderate and incompetent.

There is no doubt that the vast majority of the Catholics, and especially of the priests and bishops, at this period were strongly royalist. Mgr. Dupanloup was an Orleanist, and used his influence to bring about a fusion between the Orleanists and the Bourbons, while the other great leader, Mgr. Pie, was a Bourbonist, and rather encouraged the inflexible attitude of the Comte de Chambord. On the other hand, it should be remembered that the Catholic clergy had good reason, too, for their opposition to the republican party. The men most in view on that side were Gambetta and Jules Simon, and both men made no secret of their unrelenting opposition to the Catholic Church. Thus, in the eyes of the Catholics, the republicans were regarded as anti-Catholic, while, in the eyes of the republicans, the Catholic Church became identified with the cause of royalty.

Under the government of Thiers, and especially of MacMahon, a wave of religion certainly passed over France. Great national pilgrimages were organised to Lourdes, Paray-le-Monial, La Salette, Chartres. The leading men of France, peers, deputies, and members of the Academy, took part in these ceremonies of reparation. Prayers were offered up to beg that God might have mercy on France. The Organic Articles were allowed to drop, meetings of the bishops were permitted, and full scope given to the religious press. From the time when devotion to the Sacred Heart began to spread in France, the idea of building a great national church in honour of the Sacred Heart had been before the minds of many Catholics. It was thought that the suitable time had come for making reparation to Jesus for all the impieties committed during the Commune by consecrating France to the Sacred Heart, and by erecting in honour of the Sacred Heart the Basilica of Montmartre. In July, 1873, the subject was discussed in the Chamber of Deputies, and by 389 votes to 146 it was declared that the erection of the church was a matter of public utility. The budget

of worship was increased between 1870 and 1876; a military law was passed granting the soldiers time to fulfil their religious duties (1872), and a law establishing military chaplaincies was carried by 384 against 231 (1874).

But the question of education was regarded by both parties as the most important for the future of religion in France. The republican policy with regard to primary education was clear and concise. Primary education, according to it, should be gratuitous, compulsory and lay. The great representative of the party in these matters was M. Jules Simon, and he proposed a measure in favour of making education obligatory in 1871. In itself this was harmless enough, but taken in conjunction with the programme of his party, it was significant. A counter project favourable to the Catholic schools was brought forward by the committee charged with the examination of this bill, but the Chamber did not proceed any further in the matter, and the primary schools remained as they were under the empire.

When, by the law of 1850, the monopoly of the university was broken, and the liberty to found free secondary schools was granted to Catholics a central education council, composed of representatives of the university, of the clergy, of the magistracy, of the Council of State, and of the Administration, had been erected; but Napoleon III. changed the constitution of this body by substituting the principle of government nomination for that of election. It was now proposed (Jan., 1873) that a return should be made to the old system, and that a central council should be set up, composed of 38 members, four of whom should be archbishops or bishops. This project was warmly supported by Mgr. Dupanloup and the Duc de Broglie, and was carried by a large majority (March, 1873).

But although the Law of 1850 gave the Catholics redress in the matter of secondary education, the University still retained the monopoly in its own department. No free university could be opened, and no degrees conferred except by the university body. The disruption of

the Catholic party in 1850 prevented any united effort being made under the Empire for redress of this grievance, but the question soon came before the National Assembly. In December, 1874, the discussion on the University Bill began. Its great opponents were M. Paul Bert and Jules Ferry, while its great defenders were Mgr. Dupanloup and M. Wallon, Minister of Education. In July, 1875, the Assembly adopted the law by 316 votes against 266. According to this law the Catholics might open free universities, and the students frequenting such institutions could obtain their degrees from a mixed jury, composed half and half of professors in the state universities and the free universities. These juries were to be selected by the Minister of Public Instruction. Immediately the Catholics set to work to avail themselves of the advantages conferred on them by the law, lest when the National Assembly should be dissolved, and a new body elected to take its place, the measure might be repealed. A Catholic university was set up in Paris with three faculties, law, literature, and science. Mgr. Guibert was the generous patron of this institution, but the man who really put life into the new university was Mgr. d'Hulst, then vicar general of Paris.* Universities, more or less complete, were also established at Lille, Angers, Lyons, and Toulouse.

The Assembly, having given a constitution to France, and having proclaimed that public prayers should be offered up in the churches till the election of the new Chamber, was dissolved in 1875. During the election struggle the republican party, especially Gambetta, was most active. They took advantage of the division in the ranks of their opponents, and of the mistakes in policy of which they had been guilty; while, on the other hand, the royalists and Catholics had no common programme or policy. The people were disgusted with their helplessness, and feared that they were determined to plunge France again into war with Italy or Germany. The result of the elections was that the royalist and

* Pechenard, *L'Institut Catholique de Paris*, 1875-1901.

Catholic party retained a very narrow majority in the Senate, while in the Chamber of Deputies they found themselves in a minority. During the year 1876 the republican majority attacked the Church at nearly every point, in regard to the abolition of the Catholic universities, the primary schools, the religious orders, and the budget of worship; but their attacks were in vain so long as the Catholics still retained control of the Senate, and MacMahon occupied the presidential chair.

The relations between Marshal MacMahon and the Chamber of Deputies were gradually becoming more strained. The crisis came in May, 1877. In February of that year Pius IX. had entered another solemn protest against the Italian occupation of Rome, and had called upon all Catholics to use their influence with their respective governments to put an end to the painful situation in Italy. The French Catholics felt themselves under a special obligation to respond to this appeal, and it can hardly be denied that in the peculiar circumstances of the country some of their protests were too vehement. This agitation led to violent debate in the Chambers, in which Gambetta and his followers denounced Clericalism as the real enemy of the country. A resolution requesting the government to put an end to such ultramontane and unpatriotic agitations was carried by 348 against 114 votes (4th May, 1877). M. Jules Simon, the Prime Minister, rather favoured the republicans, and the president felt so irritated at the tone of the discussion and the result of the debate that he dismissed the ministers, and called upon the Duc de Broglie to form a new ministry. The Chamber was prorogued for a month, and then dissolved (22nd June). The elections were fought with vigour on both sides. The aged president hastened hither and thither through France in the hope of arousing his supporters. But the results were again unfavourable (Oct., 1877). Marshal MacMahon wished to resign, but his friends besought him to postpone such a step. M. Dufaure was called upon to form a ministry of moderate republicans. But when the senatorial elections were

held the republican party secured a majority in the Senate, and the position of the president was no longer tolerable. He resigned office, and in January, 1879, M. Grévy was elected president. Then, for the first time, the republican party got control of the whole machinery of government, and were free to carry out their anti-religious programme.

For years the campaign against Christianity had been steadily pushed forward in France. In the philosophic schools of the university different systems were advanced, Relativism, Positivism, Evolution, but all of them opposed to revealed religion. Renan continued his work of attacking the origins of Christianity, while new systems of civic morality were being developed in the University and among the people. The *Ligue d'Enseignement*, founded to support the neutral schools, spread its branches rapidly through France. In 1877 it had as many as 60,000 adherents. With the *Ligue d'Enseignement** the freemason society went hand in hand, and although the total number of freemasons in France was reckoned as only 203,000 in 1874, yet on account of its splendid organisation, and the presence in its lodges of nearly all the great republican leaders, it was able to shape the policy of the republican party.

On the other hand, the Catholic bishops were divided, first, on account of their different religious views, liberal or conservative, and, in the second place, by their difference in politics. There were able men in both their parties, men like Guibert, Dupanloup, Pie, Landriot, and Perraud, but common action between these men was nearly impossible. Many of the bishops and clergy, both regular and secular, were undoubtedly opposed to the republic, and in this way gave some grounds for the assertion made by their opponents, that all good republicans should be hostile to the Church. The identification of the Church with the blundering policy of the royalist politicians was a mistake that has cost the Church dearly; but it was a mistake that is intelligible,

* Lecanuet, p. 482.

if it be remembered that the leaders of the Republican party then were frankly anti-Catholic, and spared no pains to prevent the clergy from rallying to the support of the republic. They wished to identify the Church and royalism in order to ruin the Church with the masses, and unfortunately they played their game with complete success.*

The Republicans secured complete control by the election of M. Grévy (30th January, 1879). In March, Jules Ferry opened the campaign by introducing a new law on education, according to which the testimonial of the superioress which had been hitherto accepted as a sufficient certificate for the women teachers belonging to religious congregations, should be disallowed; the superior council of education should be reformed so as to make it representative only of the university; the mixed juries for the free universities should be abolished, nor should these institutions any longer arrogate to themselves the titles of universities; and, what was worst of all, no members of unauthorised religious congregations should be allowed to take part in public or private education. This latter, the famous clause VII., was directed principally against the Jesuits. The bishops led the way in denouncing these measures, and numerous protests poured in from the country against them. In spite of these protests, the measure was carried in the Chamber of Deputies by 352 votes against 159, but in the Senate, clause VII. was rejected at the first reading (15th March, 1880).

The government, disappointed at the defeat, determined to arrive at the same result by an application of the laws against unauthorised congregations. Two decrees were published (29th March), by the first of which the Society of Jesus was to be dissolved within three months, and by the second, the other congregations were commanded to seek for authorisation within the same period under threat of enforcing against them the existing laws. Leo XIII. protested against these attacks upon

* Bodley, *France*, pp. 232, 434, &c.

the religious congregations, and he was supported by a great body of the French Catholics, but notwithstanding this the Jesuits, except those engaged in teaching, were expelled in June, 1880. The Pope made a secret proposal to the government that the religious orders should make a declaration of loyalty to the republic, and that the further application of the decrees should be suspended. M. Freycinet accepted this, but the imprudent disclosure of the arrangement by a royalist paper led to M. Freycinet's resignation. M. Jules Ferry was called upon to form a ministry, and he carried out the decrees against the unauthorised religious orders of men. They were expelled, but their houses were left in care of a few of the community, and later on, in one way or another, a great many of the congregations returned.*

In these same years, 1879 and 1880, a great many of the civil officials were dismissed as being too Catholic and royalist in their tendencies. New magistrates and new prefects were appointed who would undertake to support the policy of the government. The question of the primary schools soon claimed special attention. The policy of the Republican party to make the schools gratuitous, compulsory, and lay was carried by stages from 1881 till 1886. It was in the latter year that the law on Primary Education, which governs the schools till the present time, was passed. Thenceforth, the public schools of France were to be lay and neutral. The change from the congregational teachers to the lay teachers in boys' schools should be carried out within five years, and might be carried out immediately wherever a supply of qualified lay teachers could be found. In the girls' schools the change was to be effected on the death or resignation of the existing teachers. No religion whatever was to be taught in the public schools. They were to be strictly neutral, but in reality many of them became hotbeds of infidelity. The free schools were not forbidden. They were allowed to continue open,

* De T'Serclaes, *Le Pape, Léon XIII.*, Vol I., Paris, 1904, Chap. XII.

and now began the struggle between the public, or neutral, and the Catholic, or free schools. In nearly every village in France free schools were opened, and French Catholics contributed generously to their support. The government spared no pains to make the position of the free schools as difficult as possible, by establishing severe conditions for the qualification of teachers, and by imposing military service on the teachers (1889), yet the number of free schools and the attendance at them continued to increase. The public schools imposed an immense burthen upon the revenues of the state. Thus, in 1881, the budget for Primary Education was only eighty-two million francs, while in 1895, a sum of one hundred and eighty-nine million francs had to be provided, together with the interest on a sum of six hundred and fifty million francs spent on school buildings since 1873.* At the same time, while the expenses were increasing the number of children in attendance fell by 90,863 between the years 1892 and 1897; while during this period the free schools increased the number of their pupils by 65,811. So long as the religious congregations remained the public schools were in danger, and, hence, the necessity for suppressing the religious orders.

During the years while M. Jules Grévy was president of France (1879-1887), besides the action against the religious congregations and the laws on education, other measures were passed very hostile to the Church. The clergy were excluded from the boards of hospitals and public institutions of charity (1879); the military chaplaincies were suppressed (1880); the religious cemeteries were declared to be public (1881); the hospitals were laicised (1881); a divorce law was carried in 1884, and the Pantheon was secularised in 1885.† Thus, the Republican party was steadily banishing Christianity from the life of the country.

The bishops protested most energetically against

* Baunard, *op. cit.*, p. 327.

† Sévestre, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

these measures, but so long as the vast body of them were regarded as royalists, and so long as the Church was identified with that party in the minds of ordinary Frenchmen, there was no hope of success. Hence, Leo XIII. set himself from the very beginning of his pontificate to bring about a better understanding between the Catholics of France and the Third Republic, but his efforts were continually thwarted by the stubborn attitude of the royalists, and the offensive anti-Christian tone of the republicans. He had already tried to save the religious congregations in 1880 by inducing them to make a declaration of their loyal acceptance of the republic, but the premature publication of this arrangement by a royalist newspaper rendered futile his intervention. In 1883 the Pope again addressed a letter to President Grévy, in which he enumerated all the attacks that had been made upon the Church during the previous three years, and implored the president to moderate the war against religion. The president sent a most respectful reply acknowledging the influence of the Pope's counsels of loyalty to the republic, but professing his inability to interfere. A little later he addressed to the clergy and people of France the Encyclical, *Noblissima Gallorum Gens*,* in which he exhorted them to unite in defence of their threatened institutions.

But this policy of the Pope, though the only prudent one in the circumstances, was surrounded with considerable difficulties. In accordance with the exhortations of the Pope's letter the Comte de Mun, already well-known in Catholic social work on account of his *Cercles Catholiques*, set himself to organise a Catholic party in France. Its aim should be to vindicate the liberty of the Church, a Christian education for the children, and social reforms. The scheme was well received by the French Catholic journals, and the *Osservatore Romano* was loud in its praise. The result of the elections held shortly after the Comte de Mun had

* *Lettres Apostoliques de Léon XIII.*, Vol. I., p. 226.

published his programme were more favourable to the Conservatives than formerly. But soon the opposition began to be felt. The royalists began to express the uneasiness they had hitherto concealed. They objected to the formation of a distinct party, and they scouted the idea of placing social reform at the head of their programme. Forty-two of the Catholic and Conservative press declared themselves hostile to the plans of Comte de Mun. Some of the bishops were friendly, some of them were silent, while others, like Mgr. Freppel and Mgr. Thibaudier of Soissons, took the field openly against the projected party. In these circumstances the work of Comte de Mun was more likely to divide than to unite Catholics; *the Osservatore Romano* became more reserved in its attitude, and on the 9th November, 1885, the Comte de Mun published a letter renouncing the idea of the establishment of a Catholic Party.* A similar attempt was made in 1891, when the *Union de la France Chretienne* was founded, but as Leo XIII. was just then engaged in rallying all Catholics to the Republic, he expressed his disapprobation, and the scheme dropped; and again in 1897, when the *Fédération électorale* was established in Paris, under the presidency of Étienne Lamy, and was abandoned owing to internal dissensions.†

The Republican majority, also, was endangered by internal divisions, but their opponents were unable to profit by these as they might have done. The alliance of Catholic journals with men like Leo Taxil and Edouard Drumont, and their approbation of the immoderate attacks of the latter upon the Jews, was only playing into the hands of their enemies. Nor was the tone of the newspapers most patronised by the clergy, *L'Univers*, *L'Autorité*, and *La Croix*, likely to bring about peace or to raise the Catholic Church in the estimation of the average Frenchman. The intermeddling, too, of a certain section of the Catholics with the brain-

* De T'Serclaes, *op. cit.*, Vol. II., p. 314 *sqq.*

† Botta, *La grande faute des Catholiques*, Paris, 1904.

less schemes of General Boulanger, was lamentable in the extreme.* It gave the republicans the opportunity of rousing the enemies of the Church by the old cry of Gambetta against Clericalism, and of holding the waverers by the cry of plots against the republic. The law obliging the ecclesiastical students to military service of one year was the answer given by the Radicals to these attacks (July, 1889), and when the elections came around in the same year the Conservative and Catholic parties were completely overwhelmed.

Leo XIII. saw more clearly every day the utter madness of the policy pursued by Catholics towards the republic. He himself was moderate and considerate in his relations with the government, and he realised that the opposition of the leading clergy and laity to the form of government desired by the majority of the French people was the very thing which the enemies of the Church most desired, and out of which they derived most profit. He resolved, once more, to rally the Catholics to the support of the republic. For this purpose he made use of the activities of Cardinal Lavigerie,† of Algiers. The latter, at a banquet given in honour of the officers of the French squadron, declared that the time had come when all men should unite under the republic. They need not sacrifice their own private convictions, but without a loyal acceptance of the form of government approved by the nation they could not hope to reform the evils already existing, or to avert the greater dangers that still menaced them (12th Nov., 1890). The publication of the cardinal's speech raised a veritable storm of controversy in France. Some of the bishops wrote to Rome for direction, and the Cardinal Secretary of State replied exhorting the Catholics to forget their differences, and to remember that the Church is not the enemy of any form of government.

In February, 1892, the Pope addressed a letter to Cardinal Lavigerie approving the wisdom of his policy.

* Bodley, *France*, p. 550.

† Baunard, *Mgr. Lavigerie*, Paris, 1896.

Cardinal Richard issued a reply which was favourable, and the example of the cardinal was followed by several of the bishops. Finally, the Pope addressed a letter to the French people (16th Feb., 1892), exhorting them to rally their forces on the constitutional ground of loyalty to the existing form of government. But the letter did not produce the effect which he had desired. Its object was defeated, on the one hand, by the radical republican party, who, by new measures of persecution, endeavoured to irritate the Catholics, and, on the other, by the extreme royalists, who persisted in regarding the Papal interference as an unwarrantable attack upon themselves. The result was a more hopeless division among the French Catholics.*

Still, the Papal Encyclical was not without its influence on the political life of France. The group of *Ralliés*, as the men who accepted the policy of the Pope were called, secured a fair measure of success in 1893, and the moderate men of the republic were not indisposed to join hands with the new group in order to repress the revolutionary socialist party of the Extreme Left. The election, too, of M. Casimir-Périer as president in 1894 raised new hopes that the anti-clerical regime was at an end. But the Radical party immediately began a series of bitter attacks against the president, and, feeling that he was deserted by the Chamber, M. Casimir-Périer resigned after six months' tenure of office.† In January, 1895, M. Felix Faure was elected president. The radical policy was continued under his rule, and a new law was passed imposing very severe taxations upon all the religious congregations, whether authorised or unauthorised, except those engaged in works of charity (April, 1895). The new taxes were so high that they threatened the very existence of the poorer communities. The bishops protested against the measure, and, with the exception of Mgr. Fuzet of Beauvais, counselled the religious

* T'Serclaes, Vol. II., pp. 310-544.

† Bodley, pp. 248 *sqq.*

bodies to refuse payment of the new imposts. The Pope left the matter entirely in the hands of the bishops and the religious superiors in France. A great agitation was begun in the country, but some of the authorised religious congregations rejected the policy of passive resistance, separated themselves from the others, and agreed to pay the new taxes.

Ministry succeeded to ministry in France, but the power continued to pass steadily from the moderates to the radicals. The unfortunate agitation raised by the condemnation of Dreyfus in 1894, and by the attempts made to secure the revision of his sentence, threatened to shake the very foundations of the state. The immoderate language of some of the Catholic public men, and of their journals gravely compromised the interests of the Church. The results of the election in 1898 were unfavourable to the Catholics, while their participation in the royalist anti-Semitic and nationalist movement, which threatened to overturn the Republic in the early days of the presidency of M. Loubet (1899), led to a new intervention of the Pope in favour of his old policy of rallying to the republic (25th May, 1899). The only perceptible effect of his intervention was the dissolution of the Catholic Federation that had been formed under the presidency of M. Lamy.

It was then that the Radical anti-Christian *bloc* was formed to carry on the war against the Catholic Church. M. Waldeck-Rousseau undertook the office of First Minister, while M. Delcassé assumed charge of the Foreign Office. The new ministry strove to maintain good relations with the Pope in order to secure the French Protectorate then menaced by Germany, while at the same time, to please its radical supporters, the home policy was strongly hostile to the Church. M. Waldeck-Rousseau proposed a law according to which every candidate for a government office should be obliged to spend a certain number of years in the public primary or secondary schools (Nov., 1899). This was a blow aimed at the free colleges, but its unfairness was so

apparent that the committee charged with introducing the report to the Chamber rejected it.

At the same time he determined to take severe measures against the religious congregations, and in order to prepare the way he began by attacking the Assumptionists. This society published *La Croix*, which distinguished itself by the violence of its articles during the election campaigns, and during the Dreyfus agitation. The premises of the newspaper were invaded by the police; all the papers and documents were seized; twelve of the society were placed upon their trial and condemned to pay a fine, and, what was worse, the court declared the congregation of the Assumptionists dissolved (Jan., 1900). Rumours were spread that the government had discovered an immense sum of money in the office of *La Croix*, and that this was collected to aid in the overthrow of the republic. The archbishop of Paris, Cardinal Richard, and several of the bishops protested against this act of violence, but the only reply of the government was the withdrawal of the salaries of six bishops. In the interests of peace the Pope recommended the Assumptionists to hand over the incriminated journal to a body of laymen (April, 1900). About the same time the bishops were warned to remove the religious congregations from the control of their seminaries, and to prohibit them from undertaking missions in their dioceses. In order to avert the persecution which he saw was being prepared against the congregations, Leo XIII. remonstrated energetically through his nuncio in Paris, and offered to take measures himself on any complaint which the government might formulate to him against particular congregations. Later on, in March, 1900, he addressed a personal letter to M. Loubet, the president, on their behalf, and finally on 23rd December, 1900, he espoused the cause of the persecuted religious in a firm though moderate letter addressed to the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris.

But the government had made up its mind to crush the religious orders, and no remonstrance of the Pope

could divert them from their path. So long as the religious were allowed to conduct primary schools and free colleges the Radical party were in danger, and, as M. Waldeck-Rousseau himself admitted, the government regarded the law on religious associations which he was about to introduce as of immense importance, mainly on account of its relation to the problem of education.* Before the discussion began, M. Waldeck-Rousseau distributed a report amongst the deputies, in which the number of unauthorised congregations was set down as 3,216, while the total value of the property held by the religious bodies was fixed at over a thousand million francs. That this sum was grossly exaggerated is clear from the fact that five years earlier the revenue authorities had valued the same property at only one-third of this amount, but the report served the purpose for which it was intended—namely, to damage the religious orders, and to excite the greed of certain classes by holding out the hope of reducing taxation by appropriating for Treasury purposes such immense wealth.

The discussion of M. Waldeck-Rousseau's famous Associations Bill opened in January, 1901. It was opposed in the Chamber of Deputies by MM. de Mun,† Piou, Lerolle, as well as by moderate republicans like M. Ribot, but their opposition was useless, as the bill was passed by 303 votes against 244. It was carried in the Senate in June of the same year, and promulgated on the 2nd July, 1901. The law dealt with associations in general, the conditions for their judicial existence, and their privileges, and was very liberal in its provisions except with regard to the religious congregations. For these it was laid down that no congregation could be established in the future without the permission of the government, that the unauthorised congregations already in existence should apply for authorisation within three months, under pain of being dissolved and their property realised, and, finally, that

* Speech at Toulouse, 28th Oct., 1900.

† *Les Congrégations Religieuses devant la Chambre*, Paris, 1901.

no member of an unauthorised congregation should be permitted to teach. Congregations applying for authorisation should be obliged to submit their statutes for approbation, and specially severe conditions were laid down for congregations in which Frenchmen were associated with subjects of other nations, or in which the superior lived outside France. The congregations, too, should submit themselves to the jurisdiction of the local bishop, and their request for authorisation should be accompanied by a guarantee from the bishop that the congregation was under his rule. M. Waldeck-Rousseau declared that the measure was not meant for the destruction of the religious congregations, that it was aimed only at a few establishments which were hostile to the republic, and that the others, by applying for authorisation, would only secure their legal position in France. But, whether the president of the council was sincere or not in his declarations, the Radical *bloc* were determined to use the Law of Associations for the destruction of the religious congregations.

The Pope protested against the law (6th July, 1901), but, at the same time, opened negotiations with the government so as to secure that the conditions for authorisation might not be opposed to the canon law. His efforts in this respect were unavailing, and some of the orders, notably the Jesuits, determined to leave France without demanding authorisation (1st Oct., 1901). They handed over their thirty colleges to secular priests or laymen. The Benedictines and the Carmelites did likewise, as did also several of the religious orders of women. New decrees, prescribing the conditions for the secularisation of members of the religious associations, were issued (Nov., 1901), and the Council of State decided (Feb., 1902) that the schools conducted by the religious orders were to be considered as new establishments, and, therefore, subject to the law.

The elections of 1902 were decidedly favourable to the Radical party, and M. Waldeck-Rousseau and his colleagues resigned in order to make room for a more

Radical ministry. M. Combes became President of the Council and Minister of Worship. He was determined to crush the religious congregations, and he began by the decrees against the free schools (27th June, 15th July), by which he ordered 2,635 schools to be closed. Most of the congregations had submitted a demand for authorisation in accordance with the law of 1901, and the demand was supported by a petition, signed by 74 of the bishops. Mgr. Fuzet of Rouen, Le Nordez of Dijon, Geay of Laval, Le Camus of La Rochelle, Lacroix of Tarentaise, did not sign the document. This petition was condemned by the Council of State as an abuse of power, and the salaries of the three bishops who had taken a leading part in the movement were suppressed. The demands for authorisation were submitted to the Chamber, and the discussion began in March, 1903. M. Combes moved in the Chamber of Deputies that the requests for authorisation from the religious orders of men should be rejected *en masse* without any further consideration. It was in vain that M. Waldeck-Rousseau protested against this abuse of the Law of Association. The majority of the Chamber voted with the First Minister (26th March, 1903), and by a decree of the Council of State the conclusions of the Chamber did not require ratification by the Senate. Twenty-five congregations devoted to education, twenty-eight devoted to preaching, and the monks of the Chartreuse, were summarily suppressed. In May, eighty-four of the teaching orders of women were suppressed. The expulsion of these different bodies gave rise to violent scenes in Paris, and in different parts of France. Many of the army officers and magistrates, who refused to carry out the instructions of the government, were dismissed.

In November, 1903, a law was passed forbidding any person to teach in a secondary school without a university degree, and submitting such schools to a very severe inspection. But these measures did not satisfy the Radical majority, who demanded complete suppression

of congregational education. Such a law was carried (5th July, 1904), and a week later decrees were issued suppressing 2,398 congregational schools. In September, 1904, M. Combes declared in a speech at Auxere that out of a total of 16,904 congregational schools he had already closed 13,904, and on the very day of his resignation he signed a decree ordering the suppression of 500 more. Thus, the Radical *bloc* had secured its object. By the suppression of the religious bodies the Catholic primary schools were practically extinguished, and the position of the free colleges rendered exceedingly difficult.

By these measures a great portion of the programme of Gambetta had been realised. It only remained to break off official relations with the Holy See, and to abolish the concordat; and the work of decatholicising France would be complete. The suppression of the French embassy to the Vatican was first undertaken. Shortly after the advent to office of M. Combes the French government made representations to the Holy See on the form of the Papal briefs, appointing bishops in France (Dec., 1902).^{*} The government objected to the words, *Nobis nominavit*, in these letters as implying that the president of the republic had merely the right of presenting to vacant sees, and that the Pope was entirely free to accept or reject the presidential nominee. The Secretary of State replied by pointing out that this formula had been generally adopted since the concordat, that it had been accepted by M. Thiers in 1872, that it was only in conformity with the letters sent by the president of the republic, petitioning for the institution of a bishop, but that for the sake of peace the Pope would consent to suppress the word "*Nobis*," provided that the formula used in the letters of the president were still maintained (March, 1903).

The attack on the formula was, however, only the expression of the views of M. Combes on the relative

^{*} *Livre Blanc du Saint Siège*, Rome, 1905.

rights of the Pope and the President in the appointment of French bishops. M. Combes professed to believe that the Pope was obliged by the concordat to appoint the nominee of the president except there were grave suspicions in regard to his faith or morality; and, hence, he abolished the preliminary informal interview about the qualifications of the episcopal candidates, which had been customary between the nuncio in Paris and the Minister of Public Worship. This informal discussion prevented the presentation of unacceptable candidates, and reduced the dangers of the deadlock which might be entailed by a formal rejection of the government candidate by the Holy See. M. Combes announced to the nuncio in Paris that the government had selected three bishops for three vacant sees, and requested him to secure canonical institution (23rd Dec., 1902). Two of the candidates were unacceptable, but M. Combes issued an ultimatum to the Holy See demanding the appointment of all, or otherwise the French government would make no further nominations, and the dioceses would be left vacant (10th Jan., 1903). A little later (21st March) he announced his decision in the Chamber of Deputies, and though the Pope and the nuncio spared no pains to bring about an agreement, the President of the Council held steadfastly by his decision, and these dioceses were left without bishops.

The next difficulty between the Vatican and France was in connection with the visit of M. Loubet to King Victor Emmanuel III. at Rome. Since the occupation of Rome in 1870 the Pope had forbidden Catholic rulers to visit the King of Italy at Rome; and that prohibition had been carefully observed hitherto. Hence, when unofficial announcements began to appear in 1903 that M. Loubet intended to make a voyage to Rome, the Secretary of State protested (June, 1903). In spite of the protest on the part of the Pope, M. Loubet arrived in Rome in April, 1904, as the guest of Victor Emmanuel III., and the Holy See immediately issued a protest to France and to all the Catholic powers. In the notes

sent out to the other powers it was stated that if the Papal nuncio were not withdrawn from Paris it was on account of the specially grave circumstances of the country. This form was published in one of the French papers, and the government of France, interpreting the phrase as a threat, demanded explanations. Without waiting for them, however, it promptly recalled M. Nisard, the ambassador at the Vatican, and left the embassy to the care of a *chargé d'affaires* (21st May, 1904).

The final rupture was brought about by the action of the bishops of Laval and Dijon, against whom serious charges of a non-political character had been forwarded to Rome. They were requested to come to Rome to answer these charges, and on their refusing to do so they were summoned to appear before a certain date under threat of censure. The French government pretended that the concordat had been violated by the Holy See in threatening the dismissal of these bishops, and on the 30th July, 1904, diplomatic relations between France and the Vatican were formally broken. The French *chargé d'affaires* was recalled, and the nuncio at Paris received his passport. Thus another portion of the programme was carried, and the way was prepared for the separation of Church and State.

M. Combes immediately announced that the government would undertake the suppression of the concordat, and in October, 1904, the Chamber approved his declarations by 318 votes against 230.* But owing to the debates on espionage in the army the ministry of M. Combes was obliged to resign, and M. Rouvier became President of the Council (21st Jan., 1905). He pledged himself, however, to carry out the programme already prepared. The Bill on the subject was brought forward by M. Bienvenu-Martin, and the debates on the subject began in the Chamber of Deputies in March, 1905. In July, 1905, the project became law, and the separation of Church and State in France was accomplished.

By the Separation Law † the republic guaranteed

* Sévestre, *op. cit.*, Chap. IV.

† *Idem.*, Appendix E.

liberty of conscience and liberty of worship, without any restrictions except those necessary for the preservation of public order. No public assistance was to be given thenceforth to any form of religion, except in case of chaplaincies to lyceums, colleges, schools, hospitals, and prisons. These chaplaincies might still be continued. An inventory of the goods of all religious establishments was to be made by officials appointed by the government, and within a year from the promulgation of the law the goods, movable and immovable, of the bishoprics, church committees, and parochial committees were to be transferred to the new Associations of Worship to be formed under the law. If no such Association should be formed the property was to be handed over by a decree of the Council of State to charitable institutions situated in the same district. The Associations of Worship were to be composed of seven, fifteen, or twenty-five members according to the population of the parish; and several of them, for example all those situated in a diocese, might unite together under a central council. They should have charge of all the ecclesiastical property and church revenues, and should render an annual account to the government of their receipts and expenses. They might form a reserve fund, but the amount of this fund was strictly limited.

The clergy who, at the promulgation of the law, were over 60 years, and had given thirty years' service in the ministry, were to receive an annual pension equal to three-fourths of their actual salary; those who were over 45 years of age, and had served for twenty years, were to receive a pension of one-half their salary; while the others were to receive their full revenue for the first year after the promulgation of the law, two-thirds for the second, one-half for the third, and one-third for the fourth year. After that the state refused all responsibility for their support. The buildings which served for public worship or for the residence of its ministers remained the property of the state, but the churches, cathedrals, &c., should be placed at the disposal of the

Associations of Worship. The houses of the archbishops and bishops should be given in charge to the Associations for two years free of cost, while the presbyteries and seminaries should be handed over to them free of charge for five years.

After the Separation Bill had become law, it remained to see whether the French bishops and the Pope would agree to accept the Associations of Worship. These were formed entirely independent of the bishops. They had complete control of the ecclesiastical property, and they might use their power to obstruct the bishop, and to produce a schism. On the other hand, the Pope was now free to appoint bishops without the interference of the government, the bishops were free to come together in council, and nearly all the old restrictions were abolished. The Pope protested against the Law of Association in January, 1906. The French bishops met in May, and condemned the proposed Associations of Worship, though they suggested the formation of other Associations which would be in accordance with canon law, and which the government might be induced to accept. Finally, in August, 1906, Pius X. published the Encyclical *Gravissimo officii munere*, in which he condemned the Associations of Worship as opposed to the constitution of the Church. The government counted on the disobedience of some of the bishops, but at their meeting in September, 1906, they were unanimous in accepting the Papal decision. Very few associations were formed, and at the expiration of the year allowed by the law the whole ecclesiastical property passed into the hands of the state. The seminaries and episcopal palaces were seized, and the presbyteries handed over to the communes.

The question of the cathedrals and churches was more important. The government issued a circular ordering the clergy to ask the permission of the civil authorities for holding religious service, but Pius X. forbade them to comply with such an order (1906). The government in revenge, seized the papers of the nunciature in Paris.

Since that time several forms of agreement in regard to the churches have been prepared, but for one reason or another all have been rejected. The churches are still open for divine service, but the clergy have no legal security of tenure. By means of voluntary associations, which have been established in most of the dioceses, funds have been provided for the maintenance of public worship, and for the support of the clergy. Similar efforts have been made, and with considerable success, to re-establish several of the free primary schools closed by the suppression of the religious congregations. It is impossible to foresee accurately what the results of the Separation Law may be, but that a new spirit of courage and of liberty animates the ecclesiastical body is undoubtedly apparent.

CHAPTER IX

THE GERMAN STATES (1848-1870) *

IN the different states of Germany the revolution of 1848 led to great constitutional developments. For years before, two tendencies had been at work, one in favour of liberty, the other in favour of a federal union of all the German states; and the news of the Paris revolution caused the supporters of both these movements to join their forces for a common attack on the absolute governments in German territory. The revolution began in Baden, and quickly spread through Hesse-Darmstadt, Bavaria, Würtemberg, Nassau, Hanover, Prussia, and Austria. The princes of the different states were obliged to promise representative constitutions, while a National Assembly met at Frankfort (May, 1848) to draw up a constitution for a united Germany. The Frankfort Parliament drew up a constitution, but the rivalry between Prussia and Austria, and the violence of the republican and revolutionary party in the Assembly, destroyed its work, and led to its dissolution (1849).

The revolutions in the different states had, however, a great influence on the Catholic Church. The establishment of free constitutions required a corresponding change in the relations between Church and State, while the concession of freedom of the press, of meetings, and of associations, afforded the Catholics an opportunity of bringing their grievances under the notice of the different governments, and of uniting to demand redress. With 1848 opened a new era in the history of the Church in Germany. Catholic journals were

* *The Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. XI., Chaps. VI., VII.

founded to support the Catholic demands; meetings were called to rouse the people and to fix public attention upon the state of bondage in which the Church was held; and associations were formed to demand that the rights of the Church should be respected. Lenning, a canon of Mayence, was the great leader in the revival. He founded the *Piusverein* at Mayence for the defence of Catholic interests, and the society soon spread through all the German states. To consolidate the work, representatives of the Catholic societies held a General Assembly in Mayence (3rd to 6th Oct., 1848), in which a scheme of federation was drawn up, and arrangements were made for similar meetings in future. This was the beginning of the General Assemblies* of the German Catholics, which are such a notable feature of the Catholic organisation in that country till the present time. Twenty of the Catholic representatives at the Frankfort Parliament, headed by Dr. Döllinger, attended at Mayence, and gave great assistance in the deliberations. Addresses of loyalty were sent to the Pope and to the bishops.

Lenning pressed the bishops to take advantage of the liberty recently accorded them by holding a kind of national synod. Geissel, the archbishop of Cologne,† was favourable to the project, and letters were issued inviting the German bishops to meet at Würzburg in October, 1848. The meeting lasted from 23rd October till 16th November, and was attended not only by the bishops, but by a few distinguished priests, notably Dr. Döllinger, and by some laymen. The bishops issued an address to the different governments, stating the grievances of which they complained, and pastorals to the clergy and laity of Germany. In the demands which they formulated for the governments they asserted that they did not desire a separation of Church and State, but only freedom, that wherever concordats existed the terms of these concordats should be observed,

* May, *Geschichte der General Versammlungen der Katholiken Deutschlands*, Cologne, 1904.

† Pfulf, *Cardinal von Geissel*, 2 Bde., Freiburg, 1895.

and where no concordats existed that the rights of the Church in education, especially in the education of the clergy, in administration, in the appointments to benefices, and in the management of ecclesiastical property should be respected. The assembly of the bishops of Germany, and the firm, yet moderate attitude adopted by them in a time of such great political disturbance, could not fail to make a great impression on the different governments, and on fair-minded men of all parties; while, at the same time, the programme they formulated served as a guide for the individual bishops in their relations to the authorities of the particular states in which their dioceses were situated. It will be necessary to follow the fortunes of the Church in the particular states.

(a) PRUSSIA

In addition to the works cited above, *cf.* :—Brück, *op. cit.*, Bd. III. Goyau, *L'Allemagne Religieuse*, Vol. IV. Bernstein, *Revolutions und Reaktionsgeschichte Preussens*, 3 Bde., Berlin, 1882-1884. *Die Lage der Katholiken in Preussen am Schlusse der III. Legislatur Periode Düsseldorf*, 1855.

In March, 1848, the Revolution broke out in Prussia, and Frederick William IV. was powerless in the hands of the National Assembly. The majority of this body were liberal and radical, violent enemies alike of Church and throne, and as soon as an opportunity offered the king dissolved the Assembly (27th Nov.), and granted a free constitution (5th Dec., 1849). William IV. was friendly disposed towards the Catholic Church, and by permitting free intercourse with the Holy See, and the erection of a purely Catholic department in the Ministry of Worship (1841), he showed his desire of maintaining friendly relations between Church and State in Prussia. But the spirit of the government and of the officials remained entirely Protestant, and they endeavoured to control every movement of the Catholic bishops and clergy. In the new constitution of 1848 an article was inserted guaranteeing to every religious body the right

of managing its own affairs, and of administering its own property without the interference of the state. In the explanations of this paragraph given by the Minister of Worship in December, 1848, many conditions and limitations were imposed which considerably modified the value of the concession. The bishops of the Cologne province met at Cologne under the presidency of Archbishop von Geissel (6th to 9th March, 1849), and forwarded an address to the king, claiming the right of administering Church property, of superintending religious education, and of appointing to benefices. The elections of that year were not favourable to the Catholics, and the revised constitution, without any of the amendments proposed by the bishops, was adopted in January, 1850. All state officials were required to take the oath of loyalty to the constitution. Many of the clergy refused to do so except in so far as the constitution was not opposed to the Church. The government was unwilling to accept the restricted form of loyalty, and a serious situation might have been created had the bishops in their meeting at Cologne (16th to 18th April) not suggested a compromise, according to which the clergy, having made a declaration that by taking the oath they did not mean to abandon the rights of the Church, might comply with the orders of the government.

The position of the Church in Prussia was vastly improved after 1848. The state of tutelage in which she had been kept by the government was gradually abandoned, and though in regard to education the position was not satisfactory, on many other matters important concessions had been made. Free intercourse with the Pope was guaranteed, the royal *Placet* on the letters of the bishops was withdrawn, the state control of the education of clerical students ceased, religious orders were permitted to settle in Prussian territory, and to conduct popular missions with the license of the bishops, and in the appointments to benefices, the erection and division of parishes, and administration of ecclesiastical

property greater freedom was permitted. The bishops were not slow to avail themselves of the new spirit of liberty. They encouraged missions to the people, and retreats for the clergy, established religious confraternities, invited religious orders of both sexes to settle in their dioceses, and made new enactments about the administration of ecclesiastical property.

The activity of the Catholic Church and the concessions that had been made to it excited the jealousy of the Prussian Protestants, who regarded Prussia as a distinctly Protestant state, where Catholics had no right to equality with the other citizens. They brought their influence to bear upon the Minister of Worship, and induced him to take measures against Catholic parochial missions, and against clerical students being sent to Rome (1852). But the Catholic party in the *Landtag*, under the leadership of Peter and August Reichensperger, brought the ministerial ordinance before the Parliament, and though their motion was defeated, the instructions of the Minister of Worship were no longer enforced. In other matters, especially in regard to finance, the Catholics were treated very differently from the Protestants, and though the Catholic deputies frequently raised the question in the debates on the budget, their remonstrances were unavailing.

In 1858, owing to the illness of Frederick William IV., his brother was appointed regent, and a Liberal ministry was installed in office. The new ministry was distinctly hostile to the Catholics, and on the formal accession of William I. (1861) a new era of persecution began for the Catholic Church in Prussia. In the elections of 1861 the Catholics were denounced as enemies of the state, and the authority of the Catholic department in the Ministry of Worship was considerably lessened. The recognition of the new kingdom of Italy in 1862, against the protests of the Pope and the Prussian Catholics, helped to increase the irritation. In the same year, Bismarck became First Minister of

Prussia. His previous interference in the ecclesiastical affairs of the Upper Rhine Provinces showed clearly that he was a strong enemy of the Catholic Church, but his political programme in Prussia prevented him for the time from engaging in an open anti-Catholic campaign.

Bismarck was resolved to unite the German states under the leadership of Prussia, and for this reason it was necessary to destroy the power of Austria. Hence, a new scheme of army organisation was introduced into Prussia, by which the Prussian army was brought to a state of great perfection. In the war against Denmark on the question of the provinces of Schleswig-Holstein in 1863, Prussia and Austria went hand in hand, but after their victory the administration of the conquered provinces led to continual friction between the two states. An alliance against Austria was concluded between Prussia and Italy, and in 1866 war was declared. The Prussians were ready for the campaign, and before the other confederate states of Germany could unite their forces, Saxony, Hanover, Hesse, and Bavaria were overrun by Prussian troops. The Austrians were obliged to fight both Italy and Prussia, and though they defeated the Italian army at Custozza, they themselves suffered a complete defeat at the hands of the Prussians at Sadowa (3rd July, 1866). By the *Peace of Prague*, Austria was driven out of the German Confederation, and in the *Peace of Vienna* with Italy Austria recognised the kingdom of Italy, to which the Austrian province of Venice had been conceded. The Iron Crown of Lombardy was handed over to Victor Emmanuel.

Prussia annexed Schleswig-Holstein, Hanover, Hesse, Nassau and Frankfort, thus increasing the population in Prussian territory from 19,000,000 to 25,000,000. A North German Confederation under the presidency of Prussia was organised, while the southern states of Germany were secured by an offensive and defensive alliance and by a tariff union. Furthermore, in case of war, it was provided that the southern states

should take their commands from the king of Prussia. The new German Empire was all but completed, and in 1871, after the defeat of France, the plans of Bismarck were at last realised.

The victory of Prussia over Austria was hailed as a triumph of Protestantism, and the National Liberal Party in Prussia were anxious to open a campaign against the Catholic Church. But Bismarck was not inclined to yield to their demands. His political schemes required the co-operation of all Germans, both Catholics and Protestants, and, hence, he was not willing to undertake a sectarian struggle at such a critical period. The German journalists, at their meeting in Vienna, 1869, demanded that all monasteries and convents should be suppressed, and that the Jesuits should be expelled. They called upon the Prussian government to do its duty in this regard. Addresses in favour of the abolition of the religious orders were presented to the Prussian government by the National Liberals, while counter-addresses poured in from all parts of Germany. The commission appointed by the *Landtag* to examine these petitions reported very unfavourably for the religious orders (1869), but the opposition of the Catholics, and the anxiety of the government to secure the union of all parties against France, prevented any measures being taken at that time to carry out the resolutions of the commission. Once France had been defeated and the German Empire securely established, Bismarck had his own plans for dealing with the religious orders and the Catholic Church.

(b) BAVARIA

In addition to the works cited above, cf. :—Henner, *Die Kath. Kirchenfrage in Bayern*, Würzburg, 1854. *Kirche u. Staat in Bayern unter dem Minister Abel und seinen Nachfolgern*, Schaffhausen, 1849. Molitor, *Cardinal Reisach*, Würzburg, 1874.

The relations between Church and State in Bavaria had been clearly established by the concordat of 1818, but the royal declaration of Tegernsee in 1821 had gone

far to annul many of the liberties granted in the concordat. During the reign of Louis I. the friendly attitude adopted by the king prevented a conflict, but after 1847 the king allowed his ministers to act as they pleased, and the Church in Bavaria was completely enslaved. During the revolution of 1848 the influence of the bishops and clergy had been entirely on the side of peace, and it was hoped that with the accession of Maximilian I. a new era might begin. In 1849 Reisach, the archbishop of Munich, forwarded a memorial to the king, in which he demanded that the terms of the concordat should be fully observed. Unfortunately, his memorial was supported only by Weiss, the bishop of Spire, the other Bavarian bishops observing an absolute silence. In 1850, Reisach summoned his colleagues to a meeting at Freising, and another memorial was drawn up, in which the bishops again demanded the observance of the concordat of 1818. The king was not unwilling to make some concessions, but his Liberal ministers were hostile to the Church, and hoped to stir up the lower clergy against the bishops.

In 1853, the Bavarian bishops met once more at Würzburg and addressed further remonstrances to the king, and in 1854 certain concessions were made to them especially in connection with the theological lyceums, but, at the same time, it was announced that the government could not yield an inch further. The king blamed Reisach for having incited his colleagues to make war on the royal edict regarding religion, and insisted at Rome that the archbishop of Munich should be appointed a cardinal and should give up his see in order to reside at Rome. In December, 1855, Reisach was named cardinal, and was summoned to Rome. In his place the Benedictine, Scherr, was appointed archbishop of Munich.

The bishops continued to protest, especially in regard to the seminaries. The archbishop of Munich insisted on the right guaranteed to him by the concordat of appointing the professors in his seminary at Freising

(1857), but the government refused to give way. The bishop of Eichstätt was offered a large grant for his seminary in 1861, but on condition that the government should have the right of appointing the professors, and the offer was promptly rejected. Weiss, the bishop of Spire, was anxious to establish a seminary in his diocese, but no heed was paid to his appeals for permission to open such an institution. The government was strengthened in its opposition to the bishops by the Liberal Catholic professors of Munich, and by the complete indifference of the vast body of the Catholic population in Bavaria. While the Catholics in the other German states were active in defence of Church interests the Catholics of Bavaria took no steps to combat the influence of the false Liberalism then so strong in government circles. In 1864, Maximilian II. was succeeded by his son, Louis II. The bishops of Bavaria, alarmed at the dangers which threatened the religious character of the schools, determined, in accordance with the policy that had been initiated by Reisach, to come together in conference at Bamberg (2nd July, 1864), and besought the king to safeguard the Christian character of the schools.

But Louis II., though personally a man of good education and ability, took no interest in the practical affairs of the country, and left the government entirely in the hands of his Liberal ministers. The bishop of Spire, who had no establishment for the education of his clergy, determined to erect a seminary, and notified the king of his intention. The government forbade him to proceed further with the project, but in October, 1864, the bishop opened his seminary, on the rolls of which six students subscribed their names. The police authorities interfered to prevent the lectures, and Louis II. personally intervened to request the bishop to abandon the seminary. In November, a police inspector notified the bishop that if the courses of lectures were not closed within six days, the government would expel the students by force, and close the establishment. It

was only then that the bishop yielded under protest, and the students departed for the university of Würzburg. The action of the bishop and the controversies which followed helped to rouse the Catholics, while the protests of the bishops of Bavaria against the appointment of the Prussian Protestant, Giesebrecht, to one of the chairs of history in Munich, opened the eyes of the people to the fact that the enemies of the Catholic Church were also the enemies of Bavarian nationality, and the friends of the supremacy of Prussia.

The influence of the Liberal Catholic professors of Munich, and the success of Prussia in the war against Austria in 1866, strengthened the hands of the Liberal party in Germany. Hohenlohe,* who was remarkable for his hatred of the Jesuits and Ultramontanism, was appointed president of the Council in 1866, and almost immediately signified his intention of introducing a law in regard to primary schools which would go far to destroy the religious character of these establishments. The bishops issued a solemn protest in 1867, and the clergy gave them loyal support. The Catholic population realised the serious nature of the crisis, and meetings were held throughout Bavaria to protest against the proposed bill. All Catholic Bavaria was now thoroughly aroused to the dangers of Liberalism. The bill was carried in the Lower Chamber, in February, 1869, but the Second Chamber so changed the measure that the government was obliged to abandon it. The defeat only encouraged Hohenlohe in his struggle against Ultramontanism and against the approaching General Council, but, while he was wasting his time in concerting schemes with Döllinger and his friends for the overthrow of the Jesuits, the elections took place in Bavaria (May, 1869). The result of the elections was disastrous for his party. While the Liberals succeeded in returning 75 candidates, the national and Catholic party came back to the Chamber with 79 members. The Chamber was immediately dissolved, and new elections proclaimed. Hohenlohe and

* *Memoirs of Prince Hohenlohe*, 2 vols., London, 1907.

his party spared no pains to blacken the character of their opponents, but the Catholics and patriots returned with 80, while Hohenlohe could count on the support of only 63 members. The Prime Minister could not sustain his position in such a hostile assembly, and in March, 1870, Hohenlohe tendered his resignation. The Catholics of Bavaria, by their action, declared their resolve to make war on the false Liberalism which for so long had held the Church of Bavaria in slavery.

(c) THE UPPER RHINE PROVINCES (1848-1870)

Brück, *Die Oberrheinische Kirchenprovinz*, Mayence, 1868. Maas, *Geschichte der Kath. Kirche im Großherzogthums Baden*, Freiburg, 1891. Lauer, *Gesch. der Kath. Kirche in Baden*, 1908. Golther, *Der Staat und die Kath. Kirche in Württemberg*, Stuttgart, 1874.

Nowhere in Germany was the Catholic Church held in such a wretched state of servitude as in the states of Baden, Hesse, Württemberg and Nassau; and while in 1848, Austria and Prussia granted a large measure of freedom to the Church, the governments of these states still insisted on the absolute subjection of the Catholic Church to the civil control. Baden, where the revolution had been the worst, and where the only loyal supporters of the Grand Duke in the stormy days of 1848 had been the archbishop of Freiburg and his clergy, took the lead in opposing the claims of the Church. In 1851 Herman von Vicari, Archbishop of Freiburg, called a meeting of his suffragans to formulate their demands to the various governments. The governments took no notice of these demands, and in 1853 a new conference of the bishops was held at Freiburg. A strong memorial was prepared. The bishops pointed out in this document that Prussia had already conceded these liberties, and they demanded that the agreements made by the states of the Upper Rhine with the Holy See should be reduced to practice. The archbishop of Freiburg was particularly active, but his representations

to the Grand Duke of Baden were without effect. In 1852, a new subject of dissension between the archbishop and the government was introduced, when, on the death of the Grand Duke Leopold of Baden (April, 1852), who was a Protestant, the civil authorities ordered that requiem masses should be celebrated. The archbishop refused to allow such masses to be celebrated, but ordered that appropriate funeral services should be held throughout his diocese. The government, on the other hand, forbade such services, but the vast body of the priests obeyed their archbishop. Those who did not obey were ordered to go to the seminary of St. Peter's for a spiritual retreat, and the government did not dare to interfere on their behalf. After the meeting of the bishops in Freiburg in 1853, and after the refusal of the government to meet his demands, the aged archbishop determined to force a crisis. In place of the Catholic Ministry of Worship the government had appointed a High Church Consistory which sat at Carlsruhe, and controlled every action of the archbishop. No step of any importance could be taken by him unless with the approval of this body of priests and laymen, nor could he issue any document regarding the administration of his diocese till it had been countersigned by these officials.

In 1853, he addressed a letter to the members of the High Consistory, requesting them to desist from interfering in the administration of the diocese; and in September, 1853, he held the seminary *concursus* without the presence of a civil official, and appointed to benefices without any previous communication with the government. In October, 1853, he announced to the High Consistory that if they did not resign their office within fourteen days he should be obliged to excommunicate them. The government of Baden sent an official to Freiburg to demand the withdrawal of this order, but the archbishop was firm in his refusal, and the chapter of Freiburg supported the archbishop. The government then appealed directly to the clergy, promising those who would disobey their bishop protection, and threatening

the others with severe penalties. The archbishop, regardless of these threats, continued to appoint to vacant benefices, and on 15th November, 1853, the sentence of excommunication against the members of the High Consistory was solemnly proclaimed in Freiburg and Carlsruhe.

The government press spared no pains to rouse the country against the archbishop. In consequence of their attacks he felt it necessary to issue a pastoral to his clergy and people in explanation of his conduct. The pastoral could not be printed in Baden owing to the watchfulness of the police, but it was printed at Mayence, and circulated secretly through the Grand Duchy. By a circular to the deans of his diocese the clergy were commanded to read the pastoral in their churches under pain of suspension; while, on the other hand, the government threatened severe penalties against any priest who would dare to publish it. The vast body of the priests obeyed the archbishop, and the very few who refused to comply with his commands were promptly suspended. Addresses of congratulation poured in on the archbishop from all parts of the Catholic world, and Pius IX. delivered an allocution (Dec., 1853), in which he praised the courageous stand made by the archbishop of Freiburg in defence of the interests of the Church.

In 1854, it seemed as if peace were about to be made. Negotiations were opened up between the government of Baden and Bishop Ketteler of Mayence, as representative of the archbishop of Freiburg; but as the government refused to abandon any of its claims the negotiations were broken off, and the conflict continued. The Prussian agents urged the government of Baden to refuse all concessions, in the hope that a great Protestant confederation under the presidency of Prussia might be organised to weaken the influence of Austria in the southern states. Bismarck was particularly active in urging Baden to continue the struggle. The government refused to pay the clergy appointed by the archbishop without the approval of the High Consistory,

and declared that the latter body alone could permit clergymen not born in Baden to exercise functions there; but the archbishop replied to this circular by calling upon the people to support the clergy. He forbade the clergy to hold any communication with the High Consistory in Carlsruhe, and in defiance of the government published regulations about the administration of ecclesiastical property. In May, 1854, the palace of the archbishop was surrounded by police, his papers were seized, and he himself held a prisoner. The news of his arrest created a great sensation not alone in Baden, but throughout Europe. His clergy and people remained loyal. The bells of the churches were not rung as a sign of mourning, no music was allowed at the religious services, and public prayers were recited for the archbishop and for the Church. The government, fearing that the archbishop would publish a general interdict, and possibly, also, acting under the influence of advice from Austria, declared the arrest at an end (31st May).

But the struggle was not yet over. The government of Baden had only two courses of action, either to fight the battle to a finish, and nobody could foresee what the end might be, or to open up negotiations with Rome for a settlement of the question. The government wisely decided to adopt the latter course. In 1854, an agent was despatched to Rome to conclude a preliminary agreement, and to prepare the way for a permanent convention. For five years, during which the position of the archbishop, whose hands were more or less tied, was exceedingly difficult, the negotiations continued, but at last, on 28th June, 1859, a convention was agreed upon between the Holy See and the Grand Duchy of Baden.* The Pope confirmed the convention by the Bull, *Aeterni Patris* (19th October), and the confirmation by the Grand Duke followed on the 5th December, 1859.

According to the terms of the convention the appointments to bishoprics and canonries should be made in future after the manner prescribed by Leo XII. (*Ad*

* Nussi, *Conventiones*, XLIV.

Dominici gregis custodiam, 1827). The archbishop and clergy were, henceforth, obliged to take merely the oath of allegiance, and the archbishop was free to carry on his work according to canon law. Wherever there was no right of presentation the archbishop might appoint to benefices, but he could not appoint foreigners or persons who, for good solid reasons were objectionable to the government. The final judgment as to the grounds of objection was, however, reserved to the archbishop. The archbishop, too, was free to appoint his vicars general, the rector, and professors of his seminary, but, in such appointments, he should be mindful of the reasonable objection of the civil authorities. He might hold his seminary examinations and the *concursus* for parishes without the presence of government officials, summon synods, provincial or diocesan, issue censures, arrange for missions and for religious services, and, in consultation with the government, might allow religious orders to settle in his diocese. For the education of his clerical students he might establish either a seminary with complete courses of theology, or a house of residence in connection with the University of Freiburg. The ecclesiastical property was to be administered in the name of the Church and under the superintendence of the archbishop, but the government reserved to itself the right of inspection. In regard to marriages between Catholics the archbishop was the judge, but the government had the right of deciding about the civil effects of such contracts. The archbishop was also empowered to watch over religious education in all classes of schools. The theological faculty of Freiburg was placed under the inspection of the archbishop, who might also report to the government if any of the lay professors attacked the Catholic religion, and the government agreed to give him satisfaction. The primary schools remained state schools, but the Church was free to set up her own institutions. In the state schools the archbishop was charged with the inspection of religious education.

No sooner were the terms of the convention known

than an outcry was raised against it by the Protestants, the Liberals and the professors of Freiburg. The defeat of Austria in the war of 1859 increased the confidence of the friends of Prussia and the enemies of the convention. The government did not show itself very anxious to uphold the terms of the agreement, and submitted it to the Chambers, where it was rejected (March, 1860). As in Prussia, the Liberal party now came to the helm in Baden, and a new period of persecution was begun. The Grand Duke issued a proclamation at Easter, 1860, announcing that though the convention was set aside, the independence of the Catholic Church should be secured; and, in accordance with this promise, a law regulating the relations between Church and State was introduced into the Chambers, and passed (Oct., 1860). This law contained many of the stipulations of the convention, and though far from satisfactory in every particular, it did much to put an end to state control of ecclesiastical affairs. In 1860, an arrangement was made between the government and the archbishop about the appointment to benefices, and most of the matters in dispute appeared to have reached, at least, a provisional settlement.

But soon the conflict began once more. The archbishop tried to introduce very necessary reforms into the two great educational establishments for girls in Freiburg, the convents of the Ursulines and of the Dominican Sisters. The government objected to these reforms, and threatened to suppress these institutions if the archbishop persisted. They even went so far as to appoint a prioress to the Dominican convent of Adelhausen in Freiburg in spite of the wishes of the archbishop and of the majority of the community. When, in 1867, the archbishop refused to be present at the reception of two novices in this house unless the prioress and the novices agreed to obey his instructions the convent was suppressed, and its endowments handed over to the corporation of Freiburg for educational purposes. The school question soon raised another subject of discussion. In

1862 the Grand Duke appointed an undenominational Board of Education, to which he committed the duties hitherto performed by the denominational boards. The religious authorities might make representations to the new body, but only in regard to matters of religious instruction.

In 1864, a new law for primary schools was passed. The clerical inspectors were abolished to make room for lay inspectors; the Church might appoint religious inspectors; the control of the schools was handed over to local school boards, which in case of denominational schools must be denominational, in case of mixed schools should be mixed. The members of the school boards were elected, and the chairman was appointed by the government; and to these boards so constituted was given control of the endowments for primary education. The archbishop forbade his clergy to accept a seat on the local school boards, and the vast majority of the people refused to take part in the elections for these boards. Catholic meetings were held throughout Baden, which sometimes led to ugly conflicts. In 1866, just as an agreement was about being concluded, there was a change in the ministry, and a more Liberal body succeeded to power. A new School Law was proposed in 1868. It permitted and favoured the establishment of undenominational schools, in which religious education might be given three hours each week, and increased the difficulty for the Church of founding free schools. The archbishop protested against the law, but the government continued to urge the local boards to change the religious into undenominational schools. The endowments of the Catholic educational and charitable institutions were seized; and in 1867 a law was passed ordering a state examination for the Catholic students of theology so as to test their general scientific education. The archbishop forbade any of his priests or students to submit themselves to such an examination (1867), and as a consequence the government excluded them from holding any permanent ecclesiastical office in Baden.

The aged archbishop of Freiburg, Herman von Vicari, was anxious to secure the assistance of a coadjutor, but no agreement could be arrived at between himself and the civil authorities. He determined, therefore, to content himself with an assistant bishop, but the government placed serious difficulties in the way. At last, in 1867, Kübel was appointed bishop, and was consecrated in 1868. The old leader, who for twenty-five years had defended the rights of the Church in Baden might now rest in peace. In March, 1868, at the age of ninety-five, he passed away. With good reason is Herman von Vicari styled by his admirers the Athanasius of Freiburg. For fourteen years, from 1868 till 1882, no election could be held, and Freiburg remained without an archbishop.

The government of Würtemberg imitated the conduct of Baden by refusing to reply to the demands of the bishop of Rottenburg. The bishop, Dr. Lipp, resolved to show that he was determined to assert the freedom of the Church by forbidding his clergy to take any part in the state *concursus* held for the appointments to benefices (1853). He also warned the members of the Church Consistory that unless they adopted a more obedient attitude he should be obliged to inflict upon them the censures of the Church. The government replied to this by announcing that the clergy, who refused to undergo the state examination, could not be appointed to benefices, and it seemed as if a conflict between the two powers must necessarily begin. But the government soon adopted a more conciliatory attitude, and negotiations were opened up for a settlement of the difficulties. A convention consisting of twenty articles was agreed to in January, 1854, and forwarded to Rome for approval, but the Pope refused to sanction the terms.

It was necessary, then, for the king, William I., to enter into direct communication with Rome. An agent was despatched there in 1856, and the Pope appointed Cardinal Reisach as his plenipotentiary. In a short time

an agreement was arrived at, and a convention consisting of thirteen articles was signed on the 8th April, 1857.* The Pope approved of it by the Bull, *Cum in sublimi* (22nd July, 1857), and the confirmation by the king followed in December. The terms of the convention with Würtemberg agreed practically with those conceded to Baden. The peace, thus concluded, did not last long. The opponents of the Church, notably the freemasons and Liberals, raised an outcry against the concessions that had been made to the Catholic Church, while, as in Baden, the defeat of Austria in 1859, and the rise of the party friendly to Prussia, were unfortunate for the success of the convention. The senate of Tübingen University excluded the theological faculty from the election of rector in 1858, on the ground that as the bishop had a right of control over the lectures of the faculty, the teaching of the professors could not be regarded as truly scientific. The government was very tardy in redressing the grievances of the faculty of theology.

The question of the convention was introduced into the Chambers, and in 1861 the motion in favour of rejecting it entirely was carried by a large majority. The Catholics protested against this breach of faith, as did also the legal commission of the Second Chamber, but their protests were unavailing. The government, however, introduced a bill regulating the relations between the Church and State in Würtemberg in 1861, and this was accepted, and promulgated in January, 1862. In this law many of the articles of the convention were substantially incorporated, but the Liberal party had asserted the principle that the rights of the Church were guaranteed not by negotiations between two powers, Church and State, but by the laws of the State. Owing mainly to the conciliatory attitude adopted by the bishop of Rottenburg and by the king, a conflict in Würtemberg was avoided and a *modus vivendi* was arrived at, regarding the education of the clergy, the theological faculty at Tübingen, and the denominational character of the primary and secondary schools.

* Nussi, *Conventiones*, XLIII.

The independence of the Church in Hesse was defended by two remarkable men, Lenning and Ketteler. Lenning, a canon of Mayence, was one of the great leaders of the Catholic revival in Germany in 1848.* To him mainly is to be attributed the foundation of the *Pius-verein* and the beginning of the German Catholic Assemblies. Some of the other clergy of Mayence opposed his schemes, and sought, rather, to introduce very sweeping Liberal reforms. The bishop opposed their schemes, but on his death in 1849 some of the canons of the cathedral elected Schmid, a professor of theology in the university of Giessen. Though the latter was a man of blameless character, he was rightly suspected of favouring the unsound philosophic views then current in Germany. Pius IX. besought Schmid to resign his claims to the appointment, but he was unwilling to do so, and when the Pope ordered a new election the majority of the chapter refused to vote for any other candidate. Finally, in 1850, three names were again submitted to the Pope, and in March of the same year he appointed William Emmanuel von Ketteler bishop of Mayence. Ketteler was sprung from a noble family in Westphalia, and devoted himself mainly to the study of law. Having been appointed to a government position he resigned, and was ordained a priest in 1844. He was elected to the Frankfort Parliament in 1848, and made brilliant speeches in defence of religion and the throne. His fame as a preacher and as a friend of the labouring classes gave him immense influence in Germany. In Mayence, Ketteler set himself to put new life into the Catholic community, and his efforts were ably seconded by Lenning. The new bishop went through his diocese preaching and instructing the people. He established a seminary at Mayence for the education of the clerical students, founded religious associations, and ordered annual retreats for his clergy. For thirty years Bishop Ketteler was one of the greatest pillars of the Catholic Church, not alone in Mayence but throughout the entire German states.

* Brück, *Adam Franz Lenning*, Mayence, 1870.

The government of Hesse sought to prevent a conflict by making a few paltry concessions, whilst still holding firmly to the absolute control of ecclesiastical affairs. The demands of the bishops of the Upper Rhine Provinces in 1853 showed that the superiors of the Catholic Church were determined to insist on freedom. Bishop Ketteler proceeded to hold the *concursus* for vacant parishes without any notification to the civil authorities (1853), and the ministers of the Grand Duke immediately made proposals for a conference. The conference took place in 1854, and a convention was agreed upon and signed in August of the same year. It was sent to Rome for approval, and the bishop went himself to explain his position. The terms of the agreement were never formally approved at Rome, but in practice they served as a rule for the guidance of the bishop and of the government. For six years very little opposition was offered to the convention, but, in 1860, with the rise of the National Liberal party, a motion in favour of the abolition of the convention was introduced, and was rejected by the Second Chamber. The opponents of the convention did not abandon their efforts. On the contrary, they organised addresses through the country to the Grand Duke begging him to revoke it, and the agitation became so widespread that the government was obliged to bring forward a measure determining the relations between Church and State (1863). The Lower House having cut out or amended all the clauses favourable to the Catholic Church accepted the bill, but the Second Chamber refused to give way, and threw it out by a large majority. The war of 1866 gave the enemies of the convention a better opportunity for succeeding in their designs, and Bishop Ketteler, in order to save the government from a difficult situation, agreed to give up the convention; while at the same time he expressed the hope that the rights of the Church would continue to be respected.

In Nassau the Catholic Church was at the mercy of the state till the Revolution in Germany. During the Revolution the government appealed to Bishop Blum of Lim-

burg to use his influence with the Catholics in the interests of peace, and the bishop issued a pastoral exhorting the Catholics to hold aloof from the rebellion. When the Revolution passed, the government refused to withdraw any of the restrictions on the liberty of the Catholic Church. The bishop proceeded to appoint to benefices in 1853 without any preliminary agreement with the civil authorities, and he was promptly cited before the criminal courts. The government declared the appointments invalid, and the bishop issued a pastoral and a solemn protest against the interference of the state in Catholic affairs. Bismarck urged the Grand Duke of Nassau to resist all demands, and to continue the struggle; but the Grand Duke, alarmed at the strong attitude taken up by his Catholic subjects, was not anxious to follow the counsels of Prussia. Against the wishes of his ministers, he interfered personally in the dispute, abolished the new regulations they had made, and opened negotiations with the Holy See for a settlement of the controversy.

CHAPTER X

THE KULTURKAMPF IN THE GERMAN EMPIRE AND LATER DEVELOPMENTS

(a) PRUSSIA

Brück, *op. cit.*, Bde., IV. Majunke, *Geschichte des Kulturkampfes in Preussen-Deutschland*, Paderborn, 1882. Schulte, *Geschichte des Kulturkampfes in Preussen*, Essen, 1882. Spahn, *Das Deutsche Centrum*, Mayence, 1907. Pastor, *August Reichensperger*, Freiburg, 1899. Pfülf, *Hermann von Mallinckrodt*, 2 Auf., Freiburg, 1901. Hüsgen, *Ludwig Windthorst*, Cologne, 1907. Bazin, *L'Allemagne Catholique au XIX^e Siècle*. Windthorst, *ses Alliés et ses Adversaires*, Paris, 1896.

THE war with France in 1870 led to the establishment of the German Empire under the leadership of Prussia. The Empire was formally proclaimed at Versailles in January, 1871. All the states of Germany, Catholic as well as Protestant, had contributed their share to the victory in the war against France, but the Liberal party and press began to hail the success of Germany as a triumph of Protestantism over Catholicity, and the new Empire as the Protestant successor to the Catholic Empire of the Middle Ages. Bismarck himself was never friendly to the Catholic Church, as had been shown by his interference in the ecclesiastical conflicts in Southern Germany. Consequently, in 1870, the alarming Catholic revival and the determination of that body to insist on religious liberty filled him with fears about the future of German unity. Political union, he considered, could never be secure so long as the people were divided on religious issues; and, hence, Prince Bismarck persuaded himself that with the aid of the Liberal Catholic party, the opponents of the Vatican Council, he might be able to set up a German national Church that should be wide enough for Protestant and Catholic alike. By

insisting on the Protestant character of the new Empire he hoped, too, to secure a confederation of the Protestant nations of Europe against the Latin countries.

The Catholics, alarmed at the attacks that were directed against them, resolved to organise their forces for the struggle. The Catholic party in Prussia, which, under the two Reichenspergers, had done such good work, was broken up, and the Catholic deputies were scattered amongst the different political groups. It was determined in 1870 to set up a new party, not a mere Catholic party, but a politico-religious one, which, while safeguarding Catholic interests, would devote its attention to social and political questions. At a meeting held in Berlin in December, 1870, the "Centre" party, consisting at that period of 48 Members of the Prussian Landtag, was formally established, and the *Germania* was founded to voice the sentiments of the new group. The leaders in the movement were Mallinckrodt, Windthorst, Reichensperger, and Bishop Ketteler of Mayence. In the elections held for the first *Reichstag* the Catholics of the Empire rallied to their support, and 67 Members were returned pledged to the Centre party.*

In the *Reichstag* the National Liberals were strong, and the campaign was soon begun against the Church. During the discussion of the new imperial constitution no guarantee for the freedom and independence of the Church was inserted, and the amendments of the Centre were rejected. The Catholic department in the Ministry of Worship, which had been established in 1841, and which had done so much to prevent religious conflicts in Prussia, was suppressed, and the management of Catholic and Protestant religious affairs was handed over to a common Ministry of Worship manned in great measure by Protestant officials (July, 1871). The Catholic clergy were accused of having interfered in the elections on behalf of the Centre party, especially in Bavaria. To prevent any further such interference in politics a law was passed declaring that

* Ketteler, *Die Centrums-Fraction auf dem ersten Deutschen Reichstage*, Mayence, 1872.

whoever attacked the constitution of the Empire or of the Confederate states, the regulations about marriage, the family, or private property, should be punished by a long term of imprisonment or a heavy fine. The proposer of the law was the Bavarian, von Lutz, and he declared that unless the measure were passed, the Catholic Church, and not the imperial government, would be supreme in the Empire. In spite of the able opposition of the Centre party the law was passed, and promulgated (10th Dec., 1871).

In 1872, Bismarck announced to the Papal Secretary of State that Cardinal Hohenlohe was being sent to Rome as the ambassador of Germany to the Holy See. Such a selection, so contrary to all usage, was evidently meant to embarrass the Pope. The cardinal was well known to have been the intimate friend of Döllinger and of the Liberal school of Munich, while, besides, his position as a member of the Pope's senate, made it impossible for him to act at the Papal court as the representative of a foreign power. Pius IX. refused to accept the cardinal as the German ambassador, and the refusal was used to stir up greater bitterness against the Jesuits and "Ultramontanes." Since 1868 an army bishop had been officially recognised in Prussia, from whom all the army chaplains received their faculties. He protested against allowing the Old Catholics to use the garrison church of St. Pantaleon in Cologne, and, when his protests were unheeded, he forbade the Catholic chaplain to hold service there (1872). For this order he was charged with disobedience to army discipline, and in 1873 the office of army bishop was suppressed.

The policy of Bismarck was to divide the Catholic forces by favouring the Old Catholics and those Liberal Catholics who, though not unwilling to accept the Vatican decrees, were opposed to the Jesuits and "Ultramontanism." The Jesuits were particularly detested by this party and by the Protestants, and hence, Bismarck determined to expel them from the

Empire. Petitions against them were carefully organised, and in June a law was introduced for the suppression of the Jesuits and the congregations that were connected with them. The law was passed in both houses, and on the 4th July, 1872, it received the signature of the Emperor. Besides the Jesuits, the Redemptorists, the Lazarists, the Fathers of the Holy Ghost, and the Sisters of the Sacred Heart were suppressed as being closely connected with the Jesuits (1873). About the same time the question of the use of the Polish language in the schools of Poland began to create trouble. William III. had guaranteed to the Poles in the Prussian province their religion and their language; and by a ministerial instruction, it was laid down that all teachers in the higher schools should be competent to teach both German and Polish, while the religious education should be given in all cases in the mother tongue of the children (1842). Bismarck began to fear that the use of the Polish language was a barrier against the Germanisation of Poland, and in 1872 a new regulation was published, making the use of German, even in purely Polish schools, obligatory. The religious education should be given also in German from Easter, 1873. The archbishop of Gnesen-Posen, Ledochowski, protested against this new regulation and in February, 1873, he issued a circular to the religious teachers in the higher schools ordering them to use only the Polish language in the lower classes, but permitting the use of German in the more advanced classes, until a more just procedure might be adopted by the government. The Prussian government requested the religious instructors to say whether they were resolved to obey the archbishop or the civil authorities. In case they declared their intention of accepting the archiepiscopal instructions they were dismissed and their places filled by laymen. The archbishop refused to approve of these men, and threatened them with excommunication in case they persisted in their disobedience. As a consequence, religious instruction was abandoned in many of the higher schools,

and when the archbishop erected private religious schools to supply the want, the boys were forbidden to attend under threat of punishment. Finally, the religious schools were closed.

Bismarck now realised that his hopes of dividing the Catholics of Germany were groundless. The bishops were unanimous in accepting the Vatican decrees, and were it not for the number of professors who joined the Old Catholics, the movement would have been too insignificant to attract attention. Hence, he determined to begin a regular campaign against the Catholic Church in order to subdue it. Dr. Falk was appointed Minister of Worship (1873), and to him was assigned the duty of formulating and defending the measures that were to be undertaken. In April, 1873, the constitution* of 1848, which guaranteed the independence of the Church in Prussia, was changed so as to permit the state to pass laws regulating education, the appointment and dismissal of the clergy, and to interfere in all ecclesiastical affairs. This alteration of the constitution was necessary on account of a series of laws against the clergy which had already been introduced into the Landtag, and which were passed in the following month (May, 1873). Hence, they are frequently referred to as the "May Laws."

The first of these laws dealt with the education of the Catholic clergy. It enacted that for the future no position, whether permanent, or temporary, in the church could be given to any priest who had not been educated according to the terms of this law, or against whose appointment the government lodged an objection. The plan of education prescribed for ecclesiastics was a complete course at a public gymnasium, three years' theology at a German university, and a successful examination before state inspectors preliminary to their ordination. The years spent at a seminary might be accepted as equivalent to those spent in a university, provided that the programme of the seminary studies had been approved by the Minister of Worship. The examina-

* Paragraphs 15, 18.

tion at the end of the course was to refer chiefly to history, philosophy, the classics and the German language. The boys' seminaries, the houses of residence for clerical students at the university, and the theological seminaries were to be placed under state inspectors, and their rules to be submitted to the civil authorities for approval, while the professors in such establishments must themselves have obtained university degrees. In regard to the appointment of clergy to benefices it was laid down that the bishop must notify all such appointments to the civil authorities, to whom thirty days were allowed for forwarding objections against the candidate. Such objections might be brought before the Ministry of Worship, which was empowered to decide the dispute, and all appointments made in face of such objections were declared invalid. The bishop was bound to fill all vacant parishes within a year under pain of a heavy fine.

In the regulations about discipline it was ordained that the disciplinary power in the empire could be exercised only by German ecclesiastics, thus practically withdrawing Germany from the jurisdiction of the Pope. The punishments inflicted on the clergy and the names of the priests so punished were to be submitted to the government officials; and, in certain cases, an appeal was allowed to the civil courts from the sentence of the bishop. The government might cite the bishops or the clergy before the courts to procure their dismissal from office; and after such a sentence of dismissal had been obtained, the offender could no longer exercise his functions. The proclamation of any censure on account of duties performed in the service of the state, or against any public official was forbidden. The other law referred to the conditions which should be fulfilled before an individual might pass from one religion to another. The laws were proclaimed in May, 1873, and the enemies of the Catholic Church boasted that now, at last, the victory was ensured.*

* Rintelin, *Die Kirchenpolitischen Gesetze Deutschlands*, Paderborn, 1887.

The bishops of Germany issued an announcement that they could never acknowledge such laws or assist in any way in their administration (May, 1873); while, on the other hand, the government issued an instruction to its officials commanding them to see that the laws were duly enforced. The *Kulturkampf* was begun in real earnest. The bishops were ordered to submit the regulations of their seminaries for approval, and, as they refused, the seminaries at Treves, Gnesen-Posen, Hildesheim, and Strassburg were ordered to be closed. The bishops continued to appoint to parishes without any notification to the civil authorities, and both bishops and priests were condemned to pay heavy fines. Several of the clergy were arrested and thrown into prison. But these measures only served to arouse the fighting spirit of the German Catholics. All classes were now united, except a few Liberal Catholics, who persisted in their support of the government. Large indignation meetings were held over the country; addresses of sympathy and congratulation were voted to those who had been tried or imprisoned; the Catholic press adopted a most defiant tone, and several new papers were founded to help in the defence of Catholic interests. The Centre party in the *Landtag* and *Reichstag*, though hopelessly outnumbered, made a brave stand, and allowed no act of persecution to pass unnoticed. A new form of oath was prescribed for the bishops, obliging them to promise obedience to the "May" laws, and was passed (Dec., 1873), but the bishops unanimously refused to take it. The Pope approved entirely of the attitude of the German Catholics (21st Nov., 1873), as did their co-religionists throughout the world; while, on the other hand, at a great Protestant meeting held in St. James' Hall, London, resolutions supporting the Emperor were passed with the greatest enthusiasm.

During 1874 the *Kulturkampf* was carried on with the greatest bitterness. Catholic societies were dissolved, newspapers opposing the government were the object of persecution, many of the clergy were condemned to im-

prisonment, and deprived of their office. The campaign against the bishops was pursued with relentless vigour. Bishop Brinkman, of Münster, had been fined so often that nothing else was left him except his household furniture, and this was sold by the government agents.

Ledochowski, Archbishop of Gnesen-Posen, was requested to resign his office, and on his refusal he was arrested in the early morning, and committed to prison. Eberhard, Bishop of Treves, was arrested, as was also Melchers, Archbishop of Cologne. These arrests only served to stir up the indignation of the Catholics in Poland and the Rhine Provinces, and to strengthen them in their opposition to the government. In March, 1874, the law regarding civil marriage was published, and in the same year a new measure was introduced to remove the loopholes for escape that had been detected by the judges in the May Laws. If a bishop were declared to be deposed from his office by the civil courts, the chapter was to be ordered to elect a vicar-capitular. If the chapter refused, the president of the province was empowered to name a commissioner, to whom was given the administration of the diocese. In case any other person attempted to carry on the work of the diocese he was liable to very severe penalties. These new amending laws were all passed in May, 1874. But the chapters promptly announced their resolve never to elect vicars capitular so long as the lawful bishops lived.

The Prussian government resolved to appeal to the *Reichstag* for new weapons against the Catholic Church. In this assembly the Centre had then 94 members, who were determined to contest every inch of ground with Bismarck and his allies; but the union of nearly all parties against them left them in a great minority. A new law was introduced by which it was enacted that any clergyman who had been deposed from his office might be forbidden by the police to reside in any district, and if he refused, or if he continued to exercise the functions of his order, by celebrating Mass or administering the

sacraments, he might be expelled from the Empire. Furthermore, a clergyman who had been declared to have lost his civil rights in one state was to be regarded as having lost his civil rights in the other states of the Empire. Such a proposal was received with astonishment even by men hostile to the Catholic Church, but the majority of the *Reichstag* followed the lead of Bismarck, and the law of Expulsion was passed, and promulgated (May, 1874).

The law was immediately enforced. The priests were arrested and sent out of the parishes, and hundreds of districts were left without any Catholic clergyman. In many cases no priests could be found to administer even the last sacraments to the dying. The people in some districts, deprived of their clergy, assembled on Sundays and holidays in their churches, and organised a lay religious service. Very few priests were found to accept office, and those who did were promptly excommunicated, and the Catholics refused to hold any communication with them. A number of the bishops were deprived of their office, including Ledochowski, Archbishop of Gnesen-Posen, but the chapters refused to elect vicars capitular, and the government of the dioceses was carried on by secret agents who, in spite of all the exertions of the police, could not be discovered. An attempt made upon the life of Bismarck at Kissingen (1874) was used by him to stir up greater bitterness against the Catholics. The Catholic societies were suppressed, or held in check by numberless petty restrictions; the German embassy at the Vatican was withdrawn (1874); and the Civil Marriage Law was enforced in all parts of the Empire (Feb., 1875).

This year, 1875, witnessed the most violent stage of the whole Kulturkampf. The bishop of Paderborn was arrested, deposed, and obliged to flee to Belgium. The prince bishop of Breslau and the bishop of Münster were thrown into prison; and several Catholic officials, who refused to carry out the instructions of the government, were dismissed from their office. Pius IX., who had

already created Ledochowski a cardinal, addressed a letter to the German Catholics in February praising them for their constancy, and exhorting them to stand firm in face of persecution. A law was introduced in March, 1875, suppressing the payment of the clergy and bishops unless they accepted the May Laws. The bishops of Prussia met at Fulda (2nd April, 1875), and appealed to the king not to consent to such an unjust measure, but the king disregarded their appeal, and the law was proclaimed in April, 1875. The Jesuits and the religious congregations supposed to be closely connected with their society had been already suppressed in the German Empire; and it was now resolved that all the religious orders in Prussia, except those engaged in the care of the sick, should meet a similar fate. A law for their suppression and expulsion was carried in May, 1875, and was enforced with great cruelty. Many of these laws were opposed to the terms of the Prussian constitution (Articles 15, 16, 18); and this opposition afforded the Catholics a reasonable ground for refusing to obey them. To get rid of this difficulty the articles of the constitution, securing religious liberty, were suppressed (June, 1875). In the same year a measure was passed taking away the administration of the Church property from the ecclesiastical authorities, and handing it over to elected committees (June, 1875). But the bishops wisely determined to advise the Catholics to take part in the election of the committees, and the hopes of the government were disappointed.

During the years 1876 and 1877 the new Code was rigorously enforced. Nine of the episcopal sees were left vacant, three of the bishops having died, and the other six having been deposed. More than one thousand parishes had been deprived of their priests, and more than two thousand priests had been condemned to fines, imprisonment or expulsion. The seminaries were closed, and the young priests, who refused to undergo the state examination, were being hunted down by the police if they attempted to exercise their

functions. Yet the general results were unfavourable to the government. Every new weapon of persecution only served to consolidate the Catholic forces. The Centre Party had increased rapidly since the persecution began, and under the leadership of Mallinkrodt (+1874), Windthorst, August and Peter Reichen-sperger, &c., had shown a bold front to Bismarck and his allies in the Prussian *Landtag*, and in the *Reichstag*. Hence, the government, in spite of the pledges of Bismarck against another Canossa, was not unwilling to come to terms, if only some suitable opportunity were offered.

This opportunity came with the election of Leo XIII. to the Chair of St. Peter (Feb., 1878). The new Pope addressed a personal letter to the German Emperor on the day of his election, in which he expressed his sorrow at the strained relations existing between the German Empire and the Catholic Church. Two attempts made on the life of the Emperor (11th May, 2nd June), served to strengthen his conviction that without religion the very existence of order and government was endangered. Personally he had never been thoroughly in sympathy with the May Laws, and now, in face of the rapid advances made by the Socialists, and the return of such a large number of Centre members to the *Reichstag*, nothing remained but to open negotiations with the Holy See for an adjustment of the dispute. In June, 1878, Bismarck had several interviews in Kissingen with Cardinal Mazella, the Papal nuncio at Munich, but, as the chancellor still insisted upon the recognition of the recent Prussian and imperial legislation, the interviews were without result, and the persecution was continued. The discussions on the tariff laws, and the relations of the individual states to the Empire, led to a division between the Chancellor and the Liberal party (1879), and to a closer union between the Centre party and the Conservatives. Several of the Ministers resigned, amongst them Falk, the Minister of Worship, who was

directly responsible for the whole anti-Catholic legislation. With his resignation the old policy of persecution was abandoned, and a more conciliatory, though still very unsatisfactory, attitude was adopted.

The negotiations between Prussia and Rome continued, but the aim of Bismarck was rather to create a division between the Holy See and the Centre party than to abolish the May Laws. Instead of withdrawing the new Penal Code, as Windthorst demanded, Bismarck resolved to establish a truce by having three laws passed giving the government discretionary power in the application of the laws against the Catholic Church (1880, 1882, and 1883). By means of these laws the priests were permitted to return to their parishes, and provisional appointments could be made to the vacant benefices. The bishoprics were filled, Treves and Fulda in 1881, Osnabrück, Paderborn and Breslau in 1882. The bishop of Limburg returned to his diocese in 1883, and the bishop of Münster in 1884, but the government refused to allow Cardinal Ledochowski to come back to Gnesen-Posen, or Melchers to Cologne. Both resigned their sees, and new archbishops were appointed to Cologne in 1885, and to Posen in 1886. Diplomatic relations with the Holy See were renewed in 1882. In 1885 the disputes between Germany and Spain about the possession of the Caroline Islands were referred, with the consent of both parties, to the mediation of Leo XIII., and both Germany and Spain accepted his decision (17th Dec., 1885).

In January, 1886, the Pope addressed a letter to the German bishops in which he laid down the points upon which the Church could never give way, and it only remained for Bismarck, under the pressure of Windthorst and the Centre Party, to make the advance.* Mgr. Kopp, Bishop of Fulda, was called to the House of Peers, and a new law was proposed, abolishing the state examination for clerics, permitting the re-opening of the seminaries, suppressing the court for ecclesiastical affairs,

* T'Serclaes, *Léon XIII.*, Vol. I., pp. 409-39.

restoring to the bishops their disciplinary powers, and abandoning several of the senseless restrictions contained in the May Laws. On the other hand, the government insisted that the bishops should be obliged to notify the names of the persons to be appointed to benefices before the appointment was actually made, so as to allow time for formulating objections. The Pope yielded on this point, and the measure was passed in May, 1886. In the next year, a new law was proposed which limited the notification of ecclesiastical appointments to the case of permanent appointments, and the grounds of objection to social or political faults. Many of the other restrictions on the bishops' powers were withdrawn, and the religious orders, which had come under the Law of 1875, were allowed to return. The Jesuits and the congregations supposed to be connected with them were not affected by the new proposal. The Centre was not completely satisfied with the measure, but, acting on the instructions of the Pope, they accepted it, and on the 27th April the Emperor sanctioned its promulgation. Many other outstanding difficulties were regulated by negotiations between Prussia and Rome, and in May, 1887, Leo XIII. was able to announce to the Cardinals that the Kulturkampf in Germany was at an end.

William I. died in March, 1888, and after the ninety-nine days' reign of his son, Frederick II., William II. was crowned Emperor (June, 1888). He was friendly to the Catholics, and anxious to avail himself of the services of the Centre party against the rising strength of Socialism. In spite of the attacks of the Protestant Alliance (*Evangelische Bund*), which had been founded to save the Empire from the attacks of Rome, the young Emperor made it clear that he was desirous of satisfying the reasonable wishes of his Catholic subjects. In 1890, the Catholic clergy were freed from the obligations of military service in times of peace, and in the same year, the great enemy of the Catholic Church, Prince Bismarck, lost his place as Imperial

Chancellor. His great opponent, Windthorst, the able champion of Catholic interests, survived the fall of the Chancellor only one year. He died in March, 1891, and his death was mourned by the Catholics not alone of Germany but of the entire world. With O'Connell and Montalembert, Windthorst must be regarded as one of the great Catholic leaders of the nineteenth century. In 1893, William II. visited Rome, and was received with every mark of respect by the Pope; and in 1894, the Redemptorists and Fathers of the Holy Ghost were allowed to return to the Empire. In 1901, in order to win the sympathies of the Catholics of Alsace-Lorraine, the Emperor intervened personally, and appointed Dr. Martin Spahn, Professor of History in what had been hitherto the exclusively Protestant University of Strassburg, and in the following year a convention was concluded with the Holy See for the establishment of a Catholic faculty of theology in the same university. In March, 1904, the law of banishment against the Jesuits was abolished. Count Bülow, who was not indisposed to follow the policy of Bismarck, was, like Bismarck, destined to yield before the strength of the Centre Party (1909). In the present *Reichstag* the party has 104 members, and is by far the strongest group in the Chamber.

(b) BADEN

After the death of Herman von Vicari (1868), the archbishopric of Freiburg remained vacant till 1882. The government either insisted on its own candidate, or placed such conditions on the future archbishop, that no appointment could be made. During the interregnum the diocese was administered by the assistant bishop, von Kübel. The Liberal party held undisputed sway in Baden, and the ministry of Jolly continued to be most hostile to the Church. In 1869, the Civil Marriage Law was sanctioned, in 1873, the Old Catholic bishop, Reinkens, was officially recognised by Baden; and

although only six priests and 17,000 out of a total of nearly a million Catholics joined the new sect, several of the best churches in Baden, including the university chapel in Freiburg, were handed over for the Old Catholic worship.*

The Prussians found Baden thoroughly sympathetic during the stormy days of the Kulturkampf. In 1872, the members of religious orders were forbidden to give missions or spiritual aid in the Grand Duchy, as well as to engage in any educational work. The Liberals insisted that the primary school system should be made thoroughly undenominational, but the Grand Duke resisted their demands for the abolition of religious teaching. In the end, the Minister, Jolly, found a solution that went far to meet the wishes of the Liberals and of the Grand Duke. The schools were to become undenominational, but in the appointment of teachers due regard was to be had for the religious beliefs of the population in the school areas. If they were entirely Catholic the teachers should be Catholic; if the population were mixed the head teacher should belong to the religion of the majority; and for the minority, if there was only one teacher in the school, a religious instructor might be brought to give religious education. The Grand Duke signed this measure in 1876, but on the next day he dismissed Jolly.

Nearly all the laws about the education of the clergy passed in Prussia were introduced into Baden. In 1874, the law ordering the state examination of the clerical students was passed. The preparatory seminary, and the house of residence for clerical students at Freiburg University were closed, a court for ecclesiastical affairs was instituted, and the priests, who might be dismissed from their office by its authority, were warned against exercising their functions under threats of very severe penalties. The same scenes were witnessed in Baden as in Prussia. Parishes were left without pastors, the young

* Lauer, *Gesch. der Kath. Kirche. im Grosherzogthum Baden*, Freiburg, 1908.

priests, who had not undergone the prescribed examination, were arrested if they performed any of the duties of their office, and most of them were obliged to leave the country. The number of clerical students at the University of Freiburg, and at St. Peter's seminary fell rapidly, and the diocesan administrator was powerless to assist the poor people who appealed to him to send priests to their assistance.

As in Prussia, the government began to recognise that the persecution served only to strengthen and unite the Catholic body. A new political party had been organised for the defence of the Church in Baden, under the name Catholic People's Party (*Katholischen Volkspartei*), and in the election of 1879 they were particularly successful. The law about the examination for the Catholic clergy was withdrawn in 1880, and after the death of Kübel (Aug., 1881) better relations were established between the government and the Church. In 1882 the archbishopric of Freiburg was filled by the appointment of Mgr. Orbin; the Liberal majority in the Second Chamber was overthrown (1881); the house of residence for theological students at the University of Freiburg was re-opened (1889); preparatory seminaries were established in connection with the gymnasiums in Freiburg and Constance; the members of the religious orders were permitted to give missions and to assist in the care of souls (1894); and provision was made for courses of philosophy and history, acceptable to Catholics in the University of Freiburg. Those concessions were due entirely to the strong Catholic organisations in Baden, and the maintenance of religious peace will depend entirely on the maintenance of a Catholic party in the Chambers.

(c) HESSE

The convention that had been concluded between Bishop von Ketteler and the government in 1854 continued to govern the relations between Church and State

till 1866, when the convention was given up owing to the persistent attacks of the Liberals. The friendly relations were, however, unbroken up till 1870, mainly owing to the great personal influence of Ketteler. But with the outbreak of the conflict in Prussia the National Liberals of Hesse determined to make war upon the Church. The Jesuits were expelled (1872); the Old Catholic bishop was formally recognised (1873); a school law, aimed entirely at destroying the influence of the clergy in primary education, was passed in 1874; and in 1875 a series of laws, modelled to a great extent on the "May Laws," was passed. Bishop Ketteler died in 1877, and, owing to the difficulties raised by the government, the diocese of Mayence was left vacant till 1886. The seminary at Mayence and the preparatory seminaries were closed, the priests were deposed, their parishes left without pastors, and nothing was left undone to bring the Catholic Church into thorough subjection to the state. But the persecution, as elsewhere, only served to rouse the Catholics in Hesse, and in the end the government was obliged to open negotiations with the Holy See. A bishop was elected in Mayence, in 1886, the clergy were restored to their parishes, and the seminary in Mayence was re-opened.

(d) BAVARIA

The Liberal government of Bavaria, which had been so hostile to the Vatican Council, continued its policy by forbidding the bishops to publish the decrees until they had received the royal *Placet*; but the bishops paid little attention to such a prohibition, and published the decrees without seeking for any approval. The Minister, von Lutz, was the great enemy of the Catholic Church, and the strong supporter of Prussia in its anti-Catholic campaign. The Old Catholics were treated with special favour. Many churches were placed at their disposal, the Old Catholic professors were retained in

their chairs, and the priests who had fallen away and were under sentence of excommunication were allowed to retain their houses together with the parochial property. In September, 1872, the laws against the Jesuits and the religious congregations supposed to be connected with them were proclaimed.

The majority of the Second Chamber was opposed to the policy of von Lutz, but in spite of the vote of want of confidence passed by them in 1875, Louis II. retained him in office. The Liberal party were strengthened by new appointments to the Upper House, but the Second Chamber continued hostile, and the Catholic and "Patriot" party steadily gained ground in the country. In 1886, Prince Leopold was appointed regent, and a brighter era opened for the Catholic Church. Owing to the assertion made by the regent to his ministers that the highest authorities in the Catholic Church had expressed their satisfaction with the condition of affairs in Bavaria, Leo XIII. found it necessary to address an Encyclical to the Bavarian bishops (22nd Dec., 1887), in which he laid down the points upon which the bishops should demand redress*. In accordance with his advice the bishops met in 1888, and drew up a memorandum to be presented to the government. In this memorandum they referred principally to the *Placet*, the attitude of the government in regard to the Old Catholics, the increasing irreligion of the universities, and the religious education in the schools. A reply was issued in March, 1889, but, although some concessions were made, the main grievances of which the bishops complained remained untouched.

As the demands of the Catholic majority in the Lower House were disregarded, they determined to adopt the extreme measure of refusing to vote the supplies for the budget of worship (1889); and as a result, the ministry was obliged to give way on the question of the return of the Redemptorists to Bavaria, and to recognise that the Old Catholics no longer belonged to the Catholic

* T'Serclaes, *op. cit.*, p. 485.

Church. The great enemy of the Catholic Church, von Lutz, died in 1890, and under the reign of the regent, who is himself a loyal Catholic, the relations between the government and the Church became more friendly. The Liberal party in Bavaria, however, has still the same ecclesiastical programme, but the united forces of the Bavarian Centre have proved too powerful for them in the political arena.

CHAPTER XI

EDUCATION, RELIGIOUS ORDERS, AND CATHOLIC ORGANISATION IN GERMANY (1848-1908)

In addition to the books on the general history of Germany, *cf.* :— Paulsen, *The German Universities*, London, 1905. Joos, *Elementar-Unterricht*, Heidelberg, 1902. Lossen, *Der Anteil der Katholiken am Akademischen Lehramte in Preussen*, Cologne, 1901. Rost, *Die Katholiken im Kultur und Wirtschaftsleben der Gegenwart*, Cologne, 1908. Krose, *Kirchliches Handbuch*, I Bd., Freiburg, 1908. *Jahrbuch der Zeit und Kultur Geschichte*, 1907, 1908, Freiburg. *Catholic Social Work in Germany*: *Dublin Review*, 1908, 1909.

IN the Prussian constitution of 1848 liberty of education was guaranteed. The primary schools were under the control of the state, but the influence of the Church was duly recognised, and the schools were strongly denominational. But with the development of the Liberal party about 1860 a cry was raised against the religious character of the primary schools, and of the training colleges for teachers, but the wars of 1866 and 1870 prevented any change being effected. The growing anti-Catholic spirit after the establishment of the empire led to a new attack being made in 1872, when Falk passed a law placing the public and private schools under state control, and assigned to the state the duty of appointing the local and district inspectors and of dismissing them. This latter clause was aimed at the Catholic clergy, who were in most Catholic districts the local school inspectors. Soon, numbers of priests were dismissed on account of their refusal to obey the "May Laws," and in 1875 they were shut out in great measure even from

the religious instruction in the schools. The religious instruction was confided entirely to the lay teachers, and, although the opinion of all classes in Prussia was against mixed primary education, some of the denominational schools lost their denominational character. But after the Kulturkampf this policy was abandoned, and the old relations between Church and State in regard to the schools were re-established. By the Law of 1906 it was recognised that the denominational school should be the rule in Prussia, and the mixed schools the exception. In case of mixed schools due provision was made for safeguarding the religion of the children by appointing to the staff teachers of the same religious persuasion as the minority of the children in attendance. Religious education is under the control of the Church.*

In Nassau the primary schools are undenominational,† In Baden, since the law of 1876, the schools are undenominational, but in the appointment of teachers regard must be had to the religious beliefs of the children. The religious education is well looked after by the clergy, and the authorities endeavour by various regulations to minimise the dangers of the system. The training colleges for teachers are, however, denominational; but a measure was recently introduced by the National Liberals to abolish their religious character. The proposal was, however, rejected by the combined votes of the Centre and Conservative parties (May, 1908). In Bavaria the Liberals tried to drive the Church out of the primary schools and training colleges for teachers in 1848, but this policy was strongly resisted both by clergy and people. The influence of the undenominational tendencies of the government of Baden led to a new school struggle in Bavaria. A bill was introduced in 1867 for excluding the clergy from the schools, but public opinion was strongly aroused against the anti-Catholic ministry, and the measure was defeated (1869). In the days of the Kulturkampf some

* Cf., *I. E. R.*, January, 1907.

† Firnhaber, *Die Nassauische Simultanvolkschule*, Wiesbaden, 1881.

of the schools, especially in the Palatinate, were changed from denominational to mixed institutions; but the royal ordinance of 1883 proclaimed that the primary schools were to be, as a rule, denominational, and that only in extraordinary cases could the mixed schools be tolerated. Hence, nearly all the schools of Bavaria are denominational, and the clergy are the local school inspectors. In Hesse the influence of the Church on the schools was greatly lessened by the law of 1874. In Würtemberg the schools are denominational, while in Saxony and in the overwhelmingly Protestant states the position of the Catholics is extremely difficult.

In regard to secondary schools the state in Prussia claimed to have full control over these institutions, and although up till 1872 some were recognised as distinctly Catholic, and some distinctly Protestant, yet since 1872 not a single gymnasium is recognised as completely Catholic, although in the Protestant provinces, *e.g.*, Schleswig-Holstein, Pommern, Brandenburg, several exclusively Protestant gymnasia exist. Free secondary schools are not permitted. The gymnasia, it should be noted, are mere teaching establishments, and are non-resident. Owing, however, to the dangers which the government anticipated from the total separation of religion from education, due provision has been made for the appointment of religious teachers, who are recognised as ordinary members of the staff. During the stormy days of the Kulturkampf restrictions were placed upon the religious teachers and upon the scholars to prevent them from taking part officially in the processions and services of the Church, but such a policy has been long since abandoned. In Bavaria most of the secondary schools are used by all classes, though the schools in some cases are under the control of religious orders. The bishops of Bavaria addressed a memorial to the government in 1888, in which they requested that the names of the religious teachers in the secondary schools should be submitted to the local bishop before their

appointments were confirmed, that the religious character of the institutions should be safeguarded as far as possible, that no professors should be appointed who were likely to offend against the religion or discipline of the Catholic Church, and that the students be obliged to attend daily Mass, and receive Holy Communion at least four times a year. The government went a good way to meet those demands. In Baden till the year 1870 the religion of the pupils was to be taken into account in the appointment of teachers, but in 1870 a change was introduced, according to which the professorships were thrown open to all candidates without regard to their religious beliefs. The exclusively Catholic funds could, however, be applied only to the payment of Catholic teachers. Religious education is provided for by the appointment of special religious professors.

The universities in Germany under the control of the state became undenominational, though in many of them, as in Bonn, Freiburg, Breslau, Würzburg, Tübingen, Munich, Cathôlic theological faculties are still retained. For Breslau and Bonn it was arranged (1811, 1818) that at least one Catholic professor of philosophy should always be in residence, and in 1853 it was further guaranteed that a Catholic professor of history should be appointed to these two universities. This arrangement was also extended to Freiburg, Tübingen, Würzburg, Munich, and, more recently by the Emperor William II., to the university of Strassburg. The percentage of Catholic professors at the German universities is not in keeping with their numbers (pop. 34.5 per cent., prof., 13 per cent.). The causes assigned for this are, first, the relative poverty of the Catholic students, which prevents them from selecting a career which for many years cannot afford them the means of subsistence; second, the distrust which Catholic parents entertain for the universities; and third, the bitterness of the religious antagonism existing in government and university circles, especially since 1870. In Bavaria the

position of the Catholics at the universities is much better, but even there the memorandum addressed by the bishops to the government in 1888 is sufficient to show that the situation is far from satisfactory.

Various efforts were made during the nineteenth century to establish a free Catholic university in Germany on the model of Louvain. The project was first discussed by the bishops in 1848, but very little was done till 1862, when the Catholic Congress at Aachen determined to take up the work. But Catholics were not unanimous in support of such a project. Many, and amongst them such a thoroughly loyal son of the Church as Professor Hergenröther, thought that it would be a mistake to leave the state universities in the hands of the anti-Catholic party, and that the Church, therefore, should devote her energies to strengthen the position of the Catholics within these institutions. In 1869 and 1870 large sums of money were collected, but the outbreak of the Kulturkampf, and the knowledge that the government would never grant a charter to the free university, put an end to the project. But if the plan for the establishment of a Catholic university has failed, two other projects which are of incalculable importance for the development of scientific studies amongst Catholics, have been initiated, namely, the *Görresgesellschaft* and the *Albertus-Magnus Verein*. The first was founded in 1876 to encourage scientific studies amongst Catholics especially in philosophy and history. Financial assistance is afforded by the society to deserving students to enable them to pursue their researches, and to defray the publication of their results. A German historical Institute was founded in Rome for the study of history (1888). Various invaluable works have been published in the domain of history and philosophy by the aid of the society, and their two publications, The Historical, and Philosophical Year Books, are reckoned as amongst the best of their kind.* The *Albertus-*

* Herm. Cardauns, *Die Görresgesellschaft*, 1876-1901, Cologne, 1901.

Magnus Verein was founded at Treves in 1897 in order to assist clever students to continue their university studies. It is spread over nearly all the dioceses of Germany, and its revenue in 1906 was £5,250. From this fund 548 students belonging to the Arts, Law, Medical, or Technical departments received assistance. Similar societies are in existence in Freiburg, Munich, Mayence, Metz, and Strassburg.*

The religious congregations suffered severely, not alone in Prussia but throughout the entire Empire, during the *Kulturkampf*. In 1872 and 1873 the Jesuits, Lazarists, Redemptorists, the Fathers of the Holy Ghost, and the Sisters of the Sacred Heart were dissolved, and by the Law of 1875 the other institutions, not devoted to the care of the sick, were also suppressed. Since 1880, however, most of the congregations have returned, and in 1906 there were 2,049 houses of men and women, with a total of 29,796 members. In Bavaria the *Kulturkampf* was not so violent, though the Jesuits, and the other congregations supposed to be connected with them, were suppressed. In 1906 there were 1,219 houses, with 2,133 men, and 13,279 women. In Würtemberg the Sisters of Charity are widely spread, as also in Baden. In Alsace-Lorraine there were in 1906, 497 men, and 6,030 women belonging to religious congregations. In Hesse and Saxony very few convents exist. The total number of religious houses in the German Empire at present is 5,010, and the total number of members belonging to the religious congregations is 58,452.† The orders or congregations represented are principally the Benedictines, the Cistercians, the Capuchins, the Jesuits, the Dominicans, the Sisters of Charity, of St. Elizabeth, of St. Charles Borromaeus, and the Franciscan Sisters.

Nowhere are the Catholics better organised than in Germany. The attitude assumed towards them by the

* Krose, *Kirchliches Handbuch*, Bd. I., 1907-8.

† *Idem.*, Freiburg, 1908, p. 186.

government of the Empire and of the confederate states, the bitterness with which they were assailed by the Protestant societies and press, and the alarming spread of Socialism among the non-Catholic working population, forced the Catholics to study carefully the problem of thorough organisation. Besides societies devoted to works of charity, such as the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, of St. Elizabeth, of the Holy Family, &c., which are all confederated in the *Charitasverband*, founded in 1897, the Catholics have been particularly busy in creating social organisations of all kinds. These are organised as a rule on the plan of grouping together in one body the members of a particular trade or profession. The earliest of these is the *Gesellenverein*, founded by Kolping in 1846 for the protection of journeymen tradesmen. Its branches spread rapidly into all parts of Germany, so that at present it counts in all, journeymen and masters, about 193,000 members. The *Lehrlingsverein*, for the protection of Catholic apprentices, the associations of Catholic merchants, teachers, students, workmen, servants, are all thoroughly organised to defend the interests of the classes they represent, and at the same time to safeguard their religious beliefs. Besides these professional organisations some general organisation was required in order to unify the efforts of the German Catholics. This want was satisfied in the foundation by Windthorst of the *Volksverein* for Catholic Germany at Cologne in 1890. Its aim was to combat social errors and to defend the Christian foundations of society. It spread so rapidly that in the first year of its existence it counted 10,000 members, in 1903 300,000, and in 1908 over 600,000. It strives to attain its object by organising conferences, debates, lectures and regular courses of instruction, especially in the dangerous centres, by the publication of its own newspaper, books, pamphlets, and by assisting the Catholic papers in furnishing them with suitable articles on social and religious subjects (about 400 articles weekly).

What the *Volksverein* does for men the Catholic *Frauenbund*, founded in 1903, seeks to do for women, and it has already attained a large measure of success (17,000 members). The annual Catholic Congress (*Katholikentag*), begun in 1848, serves as an opportunity for an annual review of the organised Catholic forces, and for a complete and friendly discussion of the political and social programme, which their representatives, the Centre party, should support in Parliament.*

* Krose, *Kirchliches Handbuch*, 1908, pp. 212-281.

CHAPTER XII

THE AUSTRIAN EMPIRE

(a) THE CHURCH IN AUSTRIA

Brück, *op. cit.* Rauscher, *Über die Stellung der Kath. Kirche in Österreich*, Vienna, 1860. Jacobsen, *Über die Österreich Concordat*, Leipzig, 1856. Wolfsgruber, *Die Konferenzen der Bischöfe Österreichs*, Linz, 1905. Kannengeiser, *Juifs et Catholiques en Autriche-Hongrie*, Paris, 1892. Fritsch, *Unter dem Keichen des Los von Rom Bewegung*, Münster, 1900.

THE Revolutionary storm of 1848 broke over the Austrian provinces with astonishing violence and rapidity. Vienna was in the hands of the rebels, the Italian provinces were in insurrection, and the Maygars of Hungary, under the leadership of Kossuth, demanded complete independence. The Emperor, Ferdinand I., abdicated, and was succeeded by his nephew, Francis Joseph I., then a boy of eighteen (Dec., 1848). The Constituent Assembly was dissolved, and a constitution proclaimed. With the aid of Russia, Kossuth and his party were defeated, and the separate constitution for Hungary abolished (1849).

With the abolition of the old absolute rule, and the establishment of constitutional government, the enslavement of the Church according to the principles of Joseph II. had to be abandoned, and the relations between Church and State remodelled. The bishops met in Vienna in 1840 under the presidency of Cardinal Schwarzenberg, prince bishop of Salzburg. The assembly lasted from the 30th April till the 17th June; and a series of demands was formulated regarding the

freedom of the Church, the abolition of the *Placet*, education, and the free exercise of the disciplinary powers of the Church against both clerics and laymen. Before separating, the bishops appointed a committee of five members to continue the negotiations with the government. The Emperor and his ministers were decidedly friendly. The fearful character of the revolution in Austria, especially among the university students, opened the eyes of the government to the necessity of giving the Church a freer hand.

By a royal edict issued in 1850 a good beginning was made in the work of pulling down the regime of Josephism. The *Placet* for Papal letters, and for episcopal pastorals was withdrawn; the right of the bishops to inflict censures was recognised; nobody was to be appointed professor of theology in the universities without having got the approval of the bishop, who might withdraw such licence for just cause, or forbid his students to attend certain lectures at the university. In the examination for degrees in divinity the bishop might appoint half the examiners. Rauscher, prince bishop of Seckau, was particularly active in the negotiations with the Emperor, and in availing himself of the concessions that had been made. The marriage laws, according to which Joseph II. arrogated to the state full control of the marriage contract, still remained, and were a constant source of friction between the clergy and the civil authorities. Rauscher pressed upon the government the necessity for a change, and in Dec., 1851, by another royal patent, it was decreed that in case of Catholics the civil validity of the marriage was dependent upon its being recognised by the Church as a valid contract, and that in such matters the Church was to decide only according to her own code of laws.

It was felt, however, that for a complete adjustment of the religious difficulty it was necessary to open negotiations with Rome for the conclusion of a concordat. Rauscher was appointed plenipotentiary for Austria, and was assisted by a body of statesmen (1852), while the

Papal nuncio at Vienna represented the Pope. The negotiations were continued at Rome in 1854, and in August, 1855, the concordat was signed by the plenipotentiaries of the Holy See and Austria. It was ratified by the Pope on the 3rd November, 1855, and two days later it was published by the Emperor.* By the concordat it was provided that the Catholic Church in the Austrian Empire should be guaranteed the rights and privileges accorded to her by divine and canon law. The *Placet* on Papal documents was abolished; the bishops were to be permitted to administer their dioceses without hindrance, to appoint their vicars general, to select the candidates for the priesthood, to reject those whom they deemed unworthy of holy orders, to assemble in provincial or diocesan synods, and to make fitting arrangements for public prayers, processions, and funerals.

In regard to education, it was provided that education in the public and private schools must be in accordance with Catholic doctrine, and that it was the duty of the bishops to take care that nothing was taught in the schools against faith or morals. Nobody was to give religious education without being empowered to do so by the local bishop, nor could any person be appointed professor of theology unless the bishop gave his approval. In Catholic secondary schools only Catholic professors could be appointed. The teachers in the primary schools were placed under the inspection of the local clergy, and the diocesan inspectors were appointed only on the nomination of the bishop.

To the bishops were also accorded the censorship of books, and the free exercise of their disciplinary powers. Any insult offered to the Catholic Church, its faith, or its worship was to be punished. The seminaries were to be maintained, and the appointment of the professors rested with the bishop. In the nomination to vacant sees the Emperor should, henceforth, consult the provincial bishops; and arrangements were made about the appointments to vacancies in the cathedral chapters.

* Nussi, *Conventiones* XL.

The religious orders were allowed to follow their rules and to communicate freely with their superiors in Rome; and the Church was free to secure property and to administer it through her own agents. The last article (36) provided for the suppression of all laws contrary to the terms of the concordat.

The concordat of 1855 was certainly a great boon to the Austrian Church. It showed that in official circles the old principles of Josephism and Febronianism were abandoned, and that a new era of liberty had begun. A meeting of the bishops of the Empire was held at Vienna to make arrangements for the application of the terms of the concordat. All parts of the Empire, Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, and the Italian provinces, were represented. Some objections were offered by the bishops of Hungary, but, in the end, a complete agreement between the bishops themselves and between the bishops and the government, was arrived at, and the concordat was put into force. But, from the beginning, a violent attack had been carried on against the agreement by the Liberal and Jewish press. It was denounced as a return to the policy of the Middle Ages, and all the misfortunes which quickly fell upon the Empire were attributed in some mysterious way to the influence of the Church. The disastrous war with France and Italy in 1859, and the attitude assumed by Hungary in its demands for a re-establishment of a separate constitution only served to strengthen the enemies of the concordat, and to weaken the resistance of the Emperor and his ministers. Austria became a constitutional monarchy, with a House of Peers and a House of Deputies.

In deference to the organised attacks, the Emperor issued an Edict of Toleration in 1861, by which many valuable concessions were made to the non-Catholics.* The agitation continued in favour of a revision of the concordat, especially in regard to education and the marriage laws, but the Emperor and his ministers resisted on

* Pourbzyk, *Die Rechte der Protestanten in Österreich*, Vienna, 1867.

the ground that no change should be made in such a convention unless with the consent of both contracting parties. But, at the same time, negotiations were opened in Rome to secure the approval of the Pope for certain changes which, it was believed, might satisfy the Liberal party. Fessler was despatched to Rome in 1863, and remained there till March, 1864. The Pope, however, refused to recognise the validity of mixed marriages performed by Protestant clergymen, or to agree that in case no guarantees had been given about the offspring of such marriages, or that one of the parties refused to carry out the terms, the boys might be reared in the religion of their father and the girls in the religion of their mother.

After the disastrous war with Prussia in 1866, when Austria was driven out of the German Confederation, the agitation against the concordat was carried on with great energy. Three measures were proposed in regard to marriage, education, and the relations between the different religious denominations (1867). The Chamber of Deputies supported these, but the Emperor and his ministers requested that these measures should not be pressed forward until further representations had been made to Rome. In the meantime, the fundamental laws, granting full freedom of faith and conscience, declaring that all jurisdiction in the state was exercised in the name of the Emperor, and obliging all officials to take an oath to the constitution, were sanctioned in December, 1867. Negotiations were carried on in Rome to secure the Pope's approval for a revision of the concordat, but with no better success. Without waiting for the consent of the Roman court, the imperial chancellor, Beust, induced the Emperor to allow the discussions on the Marriage law, the School law, and the law regulating the relations of the different religious bodies to one another, to proceed. They were passed in the Chamber of Deputies, and, after a long debate in the Chamber of Peers, the Emperor reluctantly signed them in May, 1868. The Marriage law declared marriage to be a civil

contract, took away the judicial powers of the Church in matrimonial suits, and enforced civil marriage on all. The School law took away from the bishops and clergy the right of managing and overseeing the classes, and handed over these powers to local committees on which the clergy might have a seat. The control of the religious education and of the religious text-books was still left to the bishops. By the law regulating the legal position of the different denominations it was laid down that a person over fourteen years of age might change his religion, but under that age no change could be made even at the desire of the parents. The Pope protested against this violation of the concordat (June, 1868), and the bishops of the Empire issued strong pastorals. The government suppressed the pastorals of the Bohemian bishops, and a prosecution was opened against Bishop Rudigier, of Linz. His pastoral was destroyed by order of the courts, and he himself was condemned to imprisonment, but the Emperor interfered and remitted the sentence. Owing mainly to the exertions of Cardinals Rauscher and Schwarzenberg, the clergy took their places on the new school committees.

During the preparations for the Vatican Council, and during the period of its deliberations, the imperial chancellor, Beust, though unwilling to follow the counsels of Bavaria, ostentatiously announced that Austria would know how to defend the rights of the state against the usurpations of the Catholic bishops. Hardly had the dogma of Infallibility been promulgated than it was announced that owing to the change introduced by the Council in the position of the Pope, by which he was made an absolute ruler, the concordat was no longer binding on the other contracting party, and was to be treated as lapsed (1870). Hence, it became necessary to prepare a new scheme of laws to regulate the relations between Church and State. The bishops, under the leadership of Cardinals Rauscher and Schwarzenberg, were extremely active and vigilant, but the Liberal ministry took little notice of their remonstrances. The

long-threatened measures were at last introduced in January, 1874. They dealt with the legal position of the Catholic Church in Austria, the taxation of the wealthier benefices for the support of the Church, the monastic institutions, and the recognition of new religious congregations. The agitation in the country against these measures was strong, but in the Chamber of Deputies, owing to the operation of the franchise, which gave the power principally to the cities and large towns, the Liberals were in a majority, and Beust had strengthened the Liberals in the House of Peers on two occasions by the creation of Liberal peers. In May, 1874, the laws regulating the relations of the Church to the State, and the taxation of ecclesiastical benefices, were passed.

By the first of these it was enacted that in order to hold an ecclesiastical office in Austria a person must have been observant of the civil law, the names of the priests about to be appointed to benefices must be submitted to the civil authorities, who were entitled to lodge objections within thirty days; the government might annul any ecclesiastical regulation regarding public worship, which it deemed inconsistent with the public peace or interest; the management of the Church funds was placed under the inspection of the Ministry of Worship; and this body was also charged with keeping a close watch on the ecclesiastical journals. The second law imposed a heavy tax on the priests holding the more wealthy benefices, and on the richer communities of regular clergy; and the amount received from this source was applied to the support of the Church, and more especially to the improvement of the salaries of the clergy in the poorer districts. The bishops met in Vienna to consider their attitude towards the new legislation (March, 1874). They protested against the abolition of the concordat, and against the principle of a state supremacy, by which the new legislation was inspired. The deliberations of the assembly were not published, but it was well known that the bishops were strongly divided in regard to the attitude which they

should adopt towards the proposed laws. Some insisted that they should declare their inability to acknowledge them, and, thus, force the issues to a crisis. The more moderate party, under the advice of Cardinal Rauscher, opposed this policy, and their counsels were accepted. The law regarding the state recognition of monastic institutions was passed in May, 1874, but the measure recognising the Old Catholics as a legal religious body was rejected by the House of Peers in 1876. The bill proposed by the Minister of Worship against the monasteries was not sanctioned by the Emperor.

But the victorious Liberals carried their policy too far, and, as a result, a reaction in favour of a more Catholic policy began to manifest itself. In the elections of 1879 the Liberal majority in the Lower House was overturned, and the Conservatives came back to power. Since that time the Liberal party controlled to a great extent by Jewish capitalists, has been assailed both by the Socialists and the Catholics. The Catholics began to organise themselves after the model set by their German co-religionists, while, to combat the Socialists, the Christian Democratic party was formed. Under the leadership of Dr. Lueger the Christian Democrats and Catholics captured the Municipal Council of Vienna, and in the elections held in 1907 the Liberals were almost annihilated, while the Christian Democrats were represented by the largest party in the Chamber. The bishops of Austria have given a good lead to the people. Since 1891 a new scheme for their meetings, prepared by Leo XIII., has been in operation. They meet together once a year at Vienna for the discussion of the ecclesiastical affairs of the Empire; and, as a result, they act as one harmonious body. The most critical questions for the Catholics in Austria in recent times have been in regard to education and marriage. In 1877, a bill was introduced into the Chamber of Deputies permitting the clergy, regular or secular, to marry, and legalising divorce, but the measure was rejected by the House of Peers. In 1904, the agitation in favour of divorce was renewed. Societies were formed, and petitions forwarded

to the Prime Minister, Dr. Körber, but he declined to take any action. A central committee was formed in Vienna to promote the project, and an address was issued to the people of the Empire (1905). The Catholic organisations, on the other hand, were not idle. Petitions were drawn up and sent out for signature, and as a result the petition against divorce presented to the *Reichsrath* bore the signature of over four and a quarter millions, while the petitioners in favour of divorce could bring together only 40,000.

The racial differences within the Empire have increased the difficulties of the Church in Austria.* The political movement, known as Pan-Germanism, which aims at uniting many of the Austrian German-speaking provinces with the new German Empire, has given rise in recent years to a curious anti-Catholic movement, known as the *Los-von-Rom* ("Free-from-Rome") movement. The men who seek for a union of Bohemia and the other German provinces of Austria with the German Empire consider that this end could be attained best by winning the inhabitants of these provinces from the Catholic Church. The aim of the movement is, therefore, more political than religious, and it is this playing upon racial jealousies and pride that is largely accountable for its success. It is principally, though not entirely, confined to Bohemia, and the absence of Catholic churches and schools in certain districts of that country helped to promote its success. The *Los-von-Rom* movement began in Bohemia about 1897, when, with the aid of German Protestant pastors, backed by large supplies of money collected in Germany, a regular campaign of proselytism was opened in Bohemia. New Protestant schools, charitable institutions, and churches were erected, lectures were held, pamphlets and newspapers attacking religion were scattered broadcast, and the hatred of the Austrian Germans for the other races of the Austrian Empire was utilised to win them for a united Protestant Germany. Immense sums were contributed

* Auerbach, *Les Races, et les Nationalités en Autriche-Hongrie*, Paris, 1898.

by the *Gustavus-Adolphus Society*, and other German Protestant associations. From 1899 till 1903 considerable numbers of Catholics fell away from the Church in Bohemia and in Vienna. The Catholics recognised the dangerous character of this politico-religious campaign, and Prince Ferdinand, heir to the throne, denounced it as treason to the Empire. Resident priests were sent into the districts affected, Catholic schools and churches were erected, and every measure taken that the Catholics should be carefully organised. Since 1903 the number of conversions from Protestantism has considerably increased, showing clearly that many of those who fell away are returning, while the number of those abandoning the Catholic Church for Protestantism has notably decreased.*

(b) THE CHURCH IN HUNGARY

In addition to works cited above, cf. :—Eisenmann, *Le Compromis Austro-Hongrois*, Paris, 1904. Vering, *Lehrbuch des Kirchenrechts*, Vienna, 1895. *Jahrbuch der Zeit und Kultur Geschichte*, 1907, 1908, Freiburg. Horn, *Organisation Religieuse de la Hongrie*, Paris.

The national spirit which had been growing steadily in Hungary, especially since 1825, asserted itself in 1848, when the Emperor, Ferdinand, was obliged to concede liberty of the press and the establishment of a responsible Hungarian Ministry. Several projects regarding religion and education were submitted by Kossuth, but the necessity for defending the newly won liberty put an end to such discussion. Many of the bishops and clergy joined heartily in the war, and several of these were punished and thrown into prison, or deposed by the victorious Austrians in 1849. From 1855 till 1867 Hungary formed a province of Austria subject to Austrian legislation. Hence the concordat of 1855 was extended to Hungary against the wishes of some of the Hungarian bishops. They refused to allow the ecclesiastical affairs of

* Rudolph Vrba, *Oesterreichs Bedranger, Die Los-von-Rom Bewegung*, Prague, 1903. Krose, *Das Kirchliches Leben*, Freiburg, 1908, pp. 307-16.

Hungary to be ruled from Vienna, and insisted that their communications with the Holy See should not be forwarded through Vienna. The Holy See approved of their attitude. During the long struggle between 1848 and 1866 the primate of Hungary, Cardinal Scitovsky, was the most ardent defender of the rights of the Church and of Hungary. In 1868 a law regulating the religion of children of mixed marriages was passed. It ordered that the boys should be educated in the religion of the father, and the girls in the religion of the mother, unless permission to act otherwise had been obtained from the proper authorities. Very often the children of such marriages were brought to the Catholic priests for baptism, when, according to the law, they could not be reared as Catholics. Baptism was performed in all such cases, and although such an act was made illegal and punishable in 1879, the clergy continued the practice, and the courts refused to condemn them. By ministerial ordinances issued in 1884 and 1898 the Minister of Worship prescribed that in those cases the Catholic clergy should notify the Protestant clergymen that such a baptism had been performed, but Rome forbade such an announcement. In 1894, the law prescribing civil marriage, and regulating mixed marriages, was carried against the protests of the Catholics. In the following year the Jewish religion was recognised by the state as a legal religious body, and recognition was given to the smaller religious sects. At present a person is not obliged to belong to any religious body, but very few have taken advantage of this permission to renounce their religion. In 1896, a measure imposing severe penalties on clergymen who used their pulpits to criticise the policy of the state or to disturb the peace was rejected by the House of Peers, but it was re-introduced in 1899 in a modified form, and became law. It threatened with heavy penalties all clergymen who sought to influence the electors assembled in a church or for religious purposes, as well as those who should employ religious emblems at an election meeting.

The Catholic Church has striven, especially since 1870, to secure the same autonomy as was guaranteed to the Protestants in the Diet of 1790. They desire the establishment of a Catholic Commission which might administer the temporalities of the Church, provide for schools and ecclesiastical buildings, and advise the king on the appointments of bishops, and the exercise of his rights of patronage. Several schemes and counter-schemes have been proposed and rejected, and various commissions have been appointed to study the question, but it is by no means easy to establish a board of this kind in such a manner as to safeguard the rights of patronage existing in regard to ecclesiastical benefices, and the rights of the bishops as the divinely appointed rulers of the Catholic Church. The Church in Hungary has immense possessions, but, on the other hand, the limitations of the bishops' authority in the appointments to benefices, owing to the rights of the ecclesiastical patrons, is calculated to produce serious abuses.

(c) EDUCATION AND ORGANISATION IN THE AUSTRIAN EMPIRE

Brück, *op. cit.* Zschokke, *Die Theol. Studien und Anstalten der Kath. Kirche in Österreich*, Vienna, 1894. Krose, *Kirchliches Handbuch*, Bd. I., pp. 285-318. *Jahrbuch der Zeit und Cultur Geschichte*, 1907 1908, Freiburg.

According to the law of 1868 the primary schools of Austria were declared to be neutral, and no tests should be imposed upon the teachers. The consequence was that owing to the Liberalism then reigning in government circles, in many districts Jewish and Protestant teachers were appointed to Catholic schools. But this law was modified in 1882, so as to insure that no person should be appointed as teacher who was not competent to instruct the majority of his scholars in their religion. The result of this amendment was that only Catholic teachers can be appointed to Catholic schools, and they

are obliged to give religious instruction in the schools, to recite prayers before the classes, to conduct the children to Mass on Sundays and holidays, and to see that those who have arrived at the age of discretion should go to Holy Communion at least three times a year. The selection of the books to be used in the religious classes, and the general superintendence of the religious instruction are in the hands of the clergy. But the Catholics have always maintained their right to have the schools denominational, and the attitude of the great body of the Austrian teachers has not been calculated to allay the suspicions of the Catholic population. Very few private schools exist except in the Protestant districts, where Catholics have made an effort to provide their own teaching establishments. Out of the entire primary schools of Austria, 20,000 in all, only 1,000 are free schools. In order to combat the dangerous tendencies in the primary education system, a Catholic School Association (*Schulverein*) was formed in 1886, and has spread rapidly over the Empire. It counted 88,000 members in 1907, and has at its disposal an immense annual revenue. It has done good work in establishing free primary and advanced schools, especially in Protestant districts, by awakening a healthy public opinion on the necessity for religious education, and especially by founding training colleges for Catholic teachers in Vienna (1891), in Feldkirch, and a house of residence for Catholic teachers attending the normal school at Gratz. Owing to the fact that most of the training colleges are neutral a large percentage of the teachers are not remarkable for their friendliness to religion. But a Catholic Teachers' Association was formed in 1906, and has at present a membership of 5,302 male teachers.

The secondary schools of Austria were to a great extent in the hands of religious orders till 1870, when many of their gymnasia were laicised. The state gymnasia are open to all, but religious instruction is obligatory, and an honest effort is made to preserve the faith and morals of the pupils. In the programme of the

public examinations religious knowledge holds an honoured place, and clergymen are attached to all such establishments in order to instruct the pupils. Besides the state schools, many secondary schools under the charge of the bishops or of religious orders still exist, and are supported by the old foundations, increased sometimes by a subvention from the state.

In Austria there are eight universities, in each of which there is a theological faculty. As in Germany, the tone of the universities is strongly anti-Catholic. A movement in favour of establishing a free Catholic University was inaugurated in 1884, and an association formed to collect the necessary funds. The bishops issued an appeal on its behalf in 1891, and the amount collected in 1907 reached 2,856,501 crowns. But Catholic opinion in Austria is by no means unanimous on the wisdom of founding a separate Catholic University. As in Germany, many maintain that the Catholics should direct their efforts rather at increasing their hold on the state universities, than at founding a new establishment. The Catholic students in Austria are well organised, and the attacks constantly made upon these student societies serve to show that they must be doing good work in preserving the religion of their members.

In Hungary the primary schools belong to the state or to the different religious bodies. The state schools are under the inspection of the different religious bodies in regard to the religious instruction, as are also the schools supported by the communes. But the greater number of schools are still carried on by the different religious bodies principally by means of funds derived from wealthy foundations. The Catholic schools, numbering over 8,000, are most flourishing, mainly owing to the fact that their training colleges are kept well up to the standard of the state training colleges, and their teachers' certificates have the same value as those given in state institutions.

Great freedom in secondary education is given in Hungary. By the law of 1883 it was arranged that only in

schools supported by the state would the government insist on controlling the programme or the methods. The state schools are in the main practically Catholic. Besides the state schools there is another class of schools supported by religious bodies, by associations, and by the cities or communes, and these require merely recognition from the Minister of Instruction. Finally, a third class is entirely independent of the government, and supported from religious foundations. Catholic secondary education in Hungary is conducted to a great extent by the religious orders or congregations. There are three universities, Budapest, Zágráb, and Kolozsvár, in each of which is a theological faculty, but the vast majority of the clergy are educated in the private theological colleges. There has been question of founding a free Catholic University at Pécs or at Kassa. Like the *Görresgesellschaft*, and the *Leogessellschaft* in Germany and Austria, the Society of St. Stephen in Hungary has established a literary and scientific section, which, especially in the field of historical research, has done good work. From the printing press of this society, the *Stephaneum*, is issued an incredible number of daily, weekly, monthly, and yearly journals.

The tyrannical domination of the Liberal party in Austria forced the Catholics of Austria to imitate their co-religionists of Germany by organising their forces. On account of the different nationalities comprised in the Empire, and the sharp racial divisions existing between them, it was by no means easy to bring about a thorough organisation of the Catholic body. But since 1877 the work has been carried on steadily. In the social field the German method of organising according to trades and professions has been closely followed. Farmers' Leagues, Womens' Leagues, Journalists' Leagues, Teachers' Associations, &c., have been formed. In order to unify all these a Central Catholic Committee was formed at Vienna in 1906, and a great Catholic Congress was organised in 1907. In this Congress the Catholic organisation in every department was fully discussed,

and attempts were made to reconcile the different interests involved. The *Piusverein* has done good work in supporting the Catholic press. Two great Catholic papers, the *Reichspost*, and the *Vaterland*, have been enormously developed by the exertions of the society, and a multitude of provincial and local papers are being assisted. A central bureau has been established, with which nearly all the Catholic papers of Austria are in telegraphic or telephonic communication, and in this way the Catholic newspapers are no longer dependent upon the garbled reports of the Liberal newsagencies.

In Hungary the Catholic societies are well organised. Besides those formed for social reform, several flourishing literary and charitable societies have been established. The Catholic Circles, founded for the protection of apprentices and employees generally, provide means of instruction, recreation, and pecuniary assistance.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CHURCH IN SWITZERLAND

Seippel, *La Suisse au XIX^e Siècle*, 3 vols., Lausanne, 1899-1900. Büchi, *Die Katholische Kirche in der Schweiz*, Munich, 1902. Woeste, *Histoire du Kulturkampf en Suisse*, Brussels, 1887. Vautrey, *Histoire de la persécution religieuse dans le Jura Bernois*, 2 vols., Paris, 1877.

THE constitution of 1848, by transforming Switzerland from a loose confederation of practically independent cantons into a united nation, prepared the way for a period of great material prosperity. There were no longer civil wars between the different cantons, or, with some rare exceptions, between the rival factions in the mixed cantons. The grouping of political parties changed very much between 1848 and 1870. The Radical party, composed for the most part of Germans, adopted as their policy complete unification of the cantonal institutions under the control of a strong central power; while, on the other hand, the Liberal French cantons stood for the administrative autonomy of the cantons as against centralisation. The Catholics, too, were strongly opposed to granting further powers to the Federal Council; but, above all, they struggled to preserve the cantonal authority on the subject of religion and education.

In 1848, the Radicals had secured the control not alone in the Federal Council, but also in many of the individual cantons. The country was soon tired of Radical domination, and in the Protestant cantons the Radicals were opposed by the Conservatives and Liberals. In consequence of the coalition of these parties the Radicals were overthrown in many of the cantons. The Catholics retained their power in all the

Catholic states, the only place where the Radicals secured a strong foothold being the canton of Ticino. The possession of the cantonal power was all-important for the Catholics, since to the government of the canton belonged the right of controlling the schools and of interfering in ecclesiastical affairs.

To many it seemed as if the war of the Sonderbund, and the complete annihilation of the Catholic forces, meant the destruction of the Catholic religion in Switzerland, but subsequent events have not justified such gloomy forebodings. The terrible defeat inflicted on them only served to strengthen the bond of union amongst the Catholics, and to preserve them from the spirit of a false Liberalism in religion that was so prevalent throughout Europe. Their bishops, notably Marilley, of Lausanne, and Greith of St. Gall, were thoroughly competent men, who by their action infused new confidence into the Catholic party. Abandoning the old aristocratic principles which had hampered their progress the Catholics suited themselves to the changed circumstances; and to the Radical theories, likely to gain ground amongst the artisans and peasantry, they opposed a thoroughly democratic programme. Besides, the constitution of 1848, by guaranteeing liberty of worship, and by permitting Catholics to settle in Protestant districts, opened the way to a Catholic immigration into Protestant territory. Large numbers of Catholics left their own bleak mountains to settle in places like Geneva, Basle, Zurich; while, in later years, thousands of Italian workmen poured across the Alps into those districts which formerly had been exclusively Protestant. The Catholic clergy hastened to erect churches, and to form communities in the Protestant cantons. Societies of all kinds, religious, political and social, were organised; and newspapers were established to defend Catholic interests.

The Liberals and Radicals were alarmed at the progress of the revival, and several measures were taken to maintain the Protestant ascendancy. The law of

1850 on mixed marriages and on the religious education of the children of such unions, gave rise to serious conflicts between the civil authorities of Aargau and the bishop of Basle. In St. Gall the attempt made by the Radicals to introduce the neutral schools was violently resisted by the Catholics. The seminary at Basle was suppressed in 1848, and for years the authorities would not permit it to be re-opened. When, at last, it was re-opened in 1860 the delegates of the cantons, an almost exclusively Protestant body, insisted upon securing a large share of control in the appointment of professors, and in the selection of text-books. The use of Gury's *Moral Theology*, for example, was forbidden.

The right of the cantonal rulers to interfere in ecclesiastical matters was a source of constant friction in the Protestant or mixed cantons. In some places the Catholic holidays were abolished against the protests of the Catholic people; and in Ticino, which was under the jurisdiction of the bishops of Milan and Como, the exercise of jurisdiction was forbidden to bishops not resident in Switzerland. Thus, without any consultation with the Pope, Ticino was deprived of its ecclesiastical government (1859). The Benedictine college in Ticino was closed (1852); in 1856, a Catholic college in St. Gall was suppressed; the old monastery of Rheinau was seized by Zurich in 1862, and its revenue appropriated to secular purposes; and in 1869, the canton of Thurgau closed the convent at Baden, the only establishment of the religious congregations in the district that had been left untouched hitherto.

These incidents were, however, only the precursors of the new era of persecution which opened for the Catholic Church after the promulgation of the Papal Infallibility. Though the Swiss Federal Council refused to interfere with the freedom of the Vatican Council, or to prevent the Swiss bishops from being present, yet, they were determined to utilise the agitation against Papal Infallibility in order to secure the long hoped for revision of the constitution. During the Council violent meetings

were held in several cantons. The Jesuits were denounced as enemies of progress; the Syllabus and the Papal Infallibility were held up as dangerous to all civil authority; and earnest appeals were made to the Catholics to sink their religious prejudices, and join hands with their fellow-countrymen in establishing a real National Church. Nor were some of the Catholics themselves unaffected by the writings of the German and French opponents of Infallibility. A few of the clergy, notably Herzog, afterwards the Old Catholic bishop of Switzerland, conducted a violent agitation and endeavoured to utilise the authority of Bishop Greith of St. Gall, who, alone amongst the Swiss bishops, opposed the opportuneness of the definition. Dr. Greith, however, refused to allow his name to be mixed up with such a campaign. By means of pamphlets and a newspaper the Catholic opponents of Infallibility in Switzerland had succeeded in shaking the faith of many of their co-religionists before the Council had concluded its work.

In the Protestant and mixed cantons every effort was made to prevent the publication of the decree on Infallibility, and to assist the Old Catholic party. The principal centres of agitation were the dioceses of Basle and Geneva. The diocese of Basle, as constituted in 1870, embraced the cantons of Lucerne, Berne, Solothurn, Zug, Aargau, Thurgau, portions of Basle, and Schaffhausen. The delegates of the Liberal cantons of the diocese of Basle issued a decree suppressing the seminary at Basle, and forbidding the bishop, Lachat (1863-85), to publish the decrees of the Vatican Council. The bishop, however, refused to acknowledge the authority of this prohibition, and issued a pastoral on Infallibility. Besides, he proceeded to take action against the priests who refused to accept the dogma, whereupon a meeting of the representatives of the cantons was called, and the majority voted for his immediate deposition (1873). The chapter of Basle was commanded to elect a successor, and on its refusal to do so was dissolved

(1874). The bishop was driven from his residence in the city, and was obliged to flee into the cantons of Zug and Lucerne, which had voted against the decree of expulsion, and which remained faithful to him. He appealed to the Federal Council for protection, but the Federal Council decided that the cantons had not exceeded their legal rights.

The clergy of Jura, in the canton of Berne, protested against the treatment meted out to their bishop by the government of Berne. They were deprived of their office of pastors, and finally expelled from the canton (1874). Their place was taken by a number of clergymen collected from different parts of Switzerland and France, the majority of whom had already been suspended by their bishops. The people refused to accept their ministrations, and so violent was the agitation against them that the Federal Council was obliged to draft in troops to keep the peace. The exiled pastors were allowed to return in 1875, on account of the decision given by the Federal Council declaring their banishment illegal, but they were not allowed to exercise the functions of their office. A law was passed in 1874 which practically imposed a new Civil Constitution upon the clergy. Henceforth they were to be elected and dismissed by the people.

The Old Catholics, on the other hand, received every assistance from the government. St. Peter's Church in Berne was handed over to them, and Herzog was appointed pastor of the city. An Old Catholic faculty of theology was set up at the University of Berne, in order to take the place of the seminary that had been suppressed. The Catholics in Berne held aloof at first from the elections for the committees, which, under the law of 1874, controlled the appointment of pastors, and the administration of ecclesiastical property; but after 1878 they changed their policy, drove the handful of Old Catholics who controlled these boards from office, took the management of affairs into their own hands, and practically killed the schism in Berne.

Geneva was another of the storm centres during these troubled times. It was the home of Calvin, and, as such, Catholics were not permitted to have any religious service there till the beginning of the nineteenth century. At that time the total Catholic population of Geneva was about 300, but in 1870 the proportions had changed, and the Catholics stood at 47,859 as against 43,606 Protestants. Many of the Catholics were, however, immigrants, and, consequently, were not permitted to exercise the franchise. Thus, the Protestant minority had control of the legislative and administrative machinery. In 1864 Pius IX. had appointed Caspar Mermillod,* rector of the Church of Notre Dame in Geneva, assistant bishop to the aged Marilley of Lausanne, and had assigned to him the care of the Catholic population of the canton of Geneva. For several years the civil authorities uttered no word of complaint, and Mermillod busied himself in introducing religious congregations of both sexes into the schools, and in establishing Catholic institutions. But during the agitation against the Vatican Council the government of Geneva took action against the religious congregations. Their schools were closed, their houses suppressed, and only those engaged in the care of the sick were allowed to remain. Finally, in August, 1872, Mermillod was forbidden to exercise any episcopal office in Geneva, and in September of the same year he was solemnly deposed. Marilley immediately resigned all claims to jurisdiction over Geneva, and the Pope appointed Mermillod as apostolic administrator (1873). The brief of appointment, having been published without the sanction of the civil authorities, the canton of Geneva appealed to the Federal Council.

The Federal Council decided that the appointment of a bishop to Geneva was illegal, and that Mermillod should be banished from Swiss territory unless he agreed to abandon all claims to episcopal jurisdiction. Strengthened by this favourable decision, the authori-

* Belloc, *Le Cardinal Mermillod*, 1902.

ties of Geneva arrested the bishop, and conveyed him across the frontier into French territory, where he took up his residence, and continued to direct affairs in Geneva. A law was passed declaring that the pastors should be elected, that their office was revocable at the will of the electors, and obliging them to take an oath which no good Catholic could take. The priests, naturally, refused to subscribe to such an oath. They were deprived of their parishes, and their places were assigned to the Old Catholics. Père Hyacinth Loyson, the ex-Carmelite apostate, was brought to Geneva, and appointed rector of the beautiful church of Notre Dame. The Catholics in the country abstained from taking part in the elections for pastors, and as one-fourth of the electors was required for a valid election, no appointments could be made. The government, however, suppressed the clause requiring one-fourth for a valid election, and, as a consequence, several of the churches passed into the hands of the Old Catholics. In Basle, too, the Old Catholics received every assistance, and were recognised as the state Church.

The Radical party determined to utilise the religious agitation in order to carry through their plans for a revision of the constitution. They aimed at strengthening the central government at the expense of the cantonal authorities, by placing in the hands of the central power the control of religious affairs, of education, of the law code, and of the army. Besides, they were determined to procure the insertion of the *referendum* in the new constitution. The Catholic cantons were opposed to such a revision on account of their religion and their schools, and the French Protestant cantons objected to it on account of their jealousy of the German cantons. The united forces of these bodies were sufficient to procure the rejection of the revision in 1872; but the French Protestant cantons were won over by stirring up religious bigotry, and by promising them certain concessions. Hence, in 1874, the Catholics found themselves alone in their opposition, and for the second time

in the century suffered an ugly defeat. The new constitution was triumphantly proclaimed.

Many clauses in the constitution were seriously detrimental to Catholic interests. To the Federal authority were assigned greater powers in the ecclesiastical affairs of the different cantons. No bishopric could be established in Swiss territory without its consent; and to it, in conjunction with the cantonal authorities, was assigned the duty of preserving concord between the different religious persuasions and of protecting the state and the individual against the abuses of ecclesiastical authority; the Jesuits and all religious congregations "affiliated" with them were not to form communities in any district in Switzerland, and, even as individuals, were forbidden to engage in educational or missionary work. The primary schools were to be entirely under the control of the state, and were to be open to scholars and pupils regardless of their religious beliefs.

Pius IX. had been a careful spectator of the course of affairs in Switzerland; and, as Supreme Pastor, felt called upon to utter a solemn protest against the injustices done to the Church by the cantonal and federal governments. In November, 1873, he published the Encyclical, *Etsi multa luctuosa*, condemning the persecution in Switzerland, and in January, 1874, the Papal representative in Lucerne was requested by the government to leave the country. From that time till the death of Pius IX. all official relations between the Vatican and Switzerland were interrupted. Leo XIII. on the day of his election (20th Feb., 1878) despatched a letter to the president of the Swiss Confederation, announcing his elevation to the Papacy, and hoping that peace might be restored between the Catholic Church and the government of Switzerland, but the advances of the Pope were not reciprocated. The government still hoped that its campaign might be successful. In 1882, however, the Radical party met with a sharp reverse. A proposal was carried for the

appointment of a Secretary of education, whose duty it would be to enforce the law of 1874 on primary education, but a demand was made that the proposal should be submitted to a referendum, and, as a result, it was rejected by 316,000 against 175,000. Thus, the very instruments, by means of which the Radicals hoped to crush the Catholics and Conservatives, were effectively employed against themselves.

The result of this vote convinced the Federal government that the vast body of the people were sick of religious persecution, and it left them more willing to follow the example of Prussia by opening negotiations with the Pope. The tension between both parties was greatly relieved by a step taken by Leo XIII. in 1883. He suppressed the vicariate apostolic of Geneva, and created the bishopric, Lausanne-Geneva, to which he appointed Mermillod. The Federal Council showed their appreciation of this conciliatory measure by withdrawing the decree of banishment, and allowing Mermillod to return to Freiburg. The following year the Pope despatched Mgr. Ferrata, Papal nuncio at Paris, to negotiate with the Grand Council. The subjects of discussion were the position of Mgr. Lachat, who had been exiled, and the ecclesiastical government of Ticino, which had been cut off by the Swiss authorities from the dioceses of Milan and Como. It was agreed that Mgr. Lachat should resign the See of Basle, where he was replaced by Mgr. Fiala, and should be created archbishop and apostolic administrator of Ticino. In 1888, another convention was negotiated, according to which the diocese of Lugano was erected for the canton of Ticino, and placed under the bishop of Basle. The affairs of the diocese were, however, to be managed by an apostolic administrator with episcopal orders.

The war begun against the Catholics in 1870, like that of 1848, served only to unite and to strengthen the Catholic forces. Societies of different kinds were established on the lines of the German Catholic societies; a thoroughly democratic programme was adopted; and,

under the leadership of M. Decurtins, a Catholic labour organisation was begun. But perhaps the most fruitful work undertaken by the Catholics at this period was the foundation of an International Catholic University at Freiburg. The Catholic cantons of Switzerland had long felt the need for such an institution, but the defeat of the Sonderbund, and the struggle which they had since been obliged to maintain, prevented them from undertaking such a gigantic experiment. In 1886, however, it was determined to begin the work. The government of the canton lent to the university trustees a sum of two and a half million francs (£100,000). Steps were taken to secure competent professors in Switzerland, Austria, Germany, and France, and in 1889 two faculties, arts and law, were formally opened. The city of Freiburg provided 500,000 francs for the establishment of a faculty of theology, which was confided to the Dominicans, and opened in 1890. Later on, the canton of Freiburg offered an annual grant of 130,000 francs for the establishment of a faculty of science. Money has also been voted for the foundation and up-keep of the university library. The faculty of medicine has not yet been founded. Though difficulties have arisen in connection with the university, especially owing to the rivalries between certain sections of the French and German professors, the number of students has steadily increased.* In 1907 the University of Freiburg was manned by a staff of seventy-three professors, and had 472 matriculated students. It has already done excellent work in every department, and provides a centre of higher intellectual life for the Catholics of Switzerland.

The Catholic population of Switzerland has been steadily increasing during the nineteenth century. This increase is to be explained in part, at least, by immigration of Catholics from Italy and other neighbouring countries. In 1800 the total Catholic population amounted to about 422,000, while according to the census of 1900 the Catholics are returned as 1,379,664,

* *L'Université de Fribourg en Suisse et ses Détracteurs*, Fribourg, 1898.

as against a Protestant population of 1,916,157. In thirteen of the twenty-five cantons of Switzerland the Catholics have an absolute majority, and in the very city of Calvin, Geneva, the Protestants find themselves in a minority. But, as many of the Catholics are immigrants without the rights of citizenship, the voting strength of the Catholics is not in proportion to their numbers. In 1895 a Catholic, Dr. Zemp, held the position of president of the Confederation.

Numbers were, however, unavailing unless they could be properly organised; and the rise of a Socialist party in Switzerland made it more necessary for the Catholics to strengthen their position by democratic associations. Socialism found a footing early in Switzerland on account of the freedom with which refugees were allowed to settle in the territory of the Confederation. But amongst the native workmen of Switzerland the Socialists found little support till after 1870. Since that time, though repressive measures have been taken by the government, the movement has continued to prosper, and in 1894, the Socialists felt strong enough to demand that a motion guaranteeing labour to all citizens who were prepared to work should be submitted to a referendum. The motion was defeated by 308,000 against 75,000. Since 1900 the Socialist organisation has undergone considerable change, and has secured strong political representation. The Catholics, too, were not idle in the field of social reform. To Bishop, afterwards Cardinal, Mermillod belongs in great measure the credit of laying the foundation of the Catholic democratic organisation in Switzerland; while the real organiser of the movement is Gaspard Decurtins. The latter established the *Arbeiterbund* in 1886. It is open to workmen of all religions, provided that they are willing to strive for reforms on Christian lines. Though many of the members are Protestants, the most friendly relations have been maintained between the different sections. The president, Decurtins, received the highest compliments from Leo XIII., and in 1893

the society thanked the Pope for his Encyclical on Labour, and determined to shape their programme according to the teaching of the Encyclical. The various distinctively Catholic Labour societies are affiliated with the *Arbeiterbund*, and are thus able to exercise a strong control. To unite all the Catholic societies in one common body a Federation of the different societies was effected in 1894. An annual Catholic Congress on the model of the German Congress has been organised since 1903.

The legal position of the Catholic Church in Switzerland should be considered both in its relations to the Federal government and to the governments of the various cantons. The Federal government guarantees the free exercise of religion in all portions of Swiss territory; and authorises the governments of the cantons to preserve peace between the different religious bodies. It forbids a bishopric to be erected in Switzerland without permission having been obtained, and it ordains that no man should be obliged to pay for the maintenance of a religion to which he does not belong. In practice, however, this latter clause cannot always be carried out. The situation of the Church varies in the different cantons. In the Catholic cantons it is the official Church, and supported by the state. In the mixed cantons both the Catholic and Protestant Churches receive assistance; in others it is supported by its own foundation, and by taxes officially levied by the state upon Catholics, while in others, especially since the legislation introduced between 1873 and 1875 in favour of a national church, the Catholic Church has declined all state aid. This is true of Basle, Berne, and Geneva. Most of the churches, however, which were handed over to the Old Catholics during the agitation have been returned. At Berne and Geneva all processions are forbidden, but in most of the other cantons such a prohibition does not exist.

In educational matters it is laid down by the Federal government that the primary schools should be un-

denominational, without any tests for teachers or pupils. But in practice, owing to the local circumstances, the schools are as a rule frequented only by members of one denomination. For the training of Catholic teachers there are maintained Catholic training colleges. The secondary education belongs to the cantonal authorities, and very flourishing Catholic lyceums and colleges are carried on by various religious congregations. In most of the dioceses of Switzerland there exist a preparatory and a theological seminary, while, besides, a great number of students attend the courses of the theological faculty in Freiburg University.

For legal position of Church in Switzerland, *cf.* :— Giobbio, *Lezioni di Diplomazia Ecclesiastica*, 2 vols., Rome, 1899-1901. Girón y Arcas, *La Situación Jurídica de la Iglesia Católica*, Madrid, 1905.

CHAPTER XIV

BELGIUM, HOLLAND AND LUXEMBURG

(a) BELGIUM

Seignobos, *L'Europe Contemporaine*, 1814-1896, Chap. VIII. Claessens, *La Belgique Chrétienne*, 1794-1886, 2 Vols., Brussels, 1883. Verhaegen, *La Lutte Scolaire en Belgique*, 2^e éd., Ghent, 1905. Woeste, *Vingt ans de Polémique*, 3 Vols., Brussels, 1885. *Gouvernement Catholique*, Brussels, 1904. Laveleye, *Le parti clerical en Belgique*, Brussels, 1904 (*Lib.*).

SINCE 1847 the struggle in Belgium has been between the Catholic and Liberal parties, the Catholics insisting upon the independence of the Church, the Liberals upon the supremacy of the state. But during the nineteenth century the Liberal party in Belgium underwent many evolutions, and at each successive stage its opposition to the Catholic Church became more marked. The Austrian period of rule in Belgium created a faction which favoured the policy of Joseph II., namely, the domination of the civil authority even in ecclesiastical matters, while the Revolutionary and French regime helped to rouse up amongst a small circle a spirit of hostility to religion. During the rule of Holland, the division between the Catholics of Belgium, though still existent, was forgotten in the common struggle against the arbitrary rule of William I.; and, in drafting the new constitution both parties agreed to make a compromise.

The Liberals felt, however, that the constitution was too favourable to the Church, and that the separation of Church and State was entirely to the advantage of the former. Hence, they claimed for the state supremacy

in educational matters, in the control of charities, in the temporalities of the Church, and in the management of seminaries. To support their views they founded the free University of Brussels (1834), while the Catholics founded Louvain (1835). But, at this stage, many of the leading Liberals were earnest practical Catholics, and had no desire of proclaiming war upon religion as such. Later on, the freemason lodges began to exercise their influence upon the younger section of the Liberal party, as did also some of the Protestant and infidel professors in the state universities; and, in 1841, under the inspiration of the freemasons, an association was formed under the title of *L'Alliance*, the nominal aim of which was electoral and fiscal reform, but its real object, the enslavement of the Church. Local branches of this society were established, and in 1846 a great congress was held at Brussels, attended by 320 delegates. The congress approved of the demands already made by the freemason lodges for a system of purely secular education under the complete control of the state. But not all Liberals approved of such extreme measures; and in a short time it was evident that there were two sections in the Liberal party, one, the moderate section, styled *Doctrinaires*, the other, the extreme section, named Progressives or Radicals. Gradually, the Progressives got control of the party, and from 1878 onwards Liberals in Belgium practically meant enemies of the Catholic Church.

From 1831 till 1846 there were seven different ministries in Belgium, but in all of these the king took care that both parties should have due representation. The system of party rule was carefully avoided till 1846, when, owing to the aggressive attitude taken up by the Liberals, a Catholic ministry was appointed. A great agitation, however, was organised in the large cities against a proposal on secondary education put forward by the Cabinet, and the king, yielding to the popular tumult, dismissed his ministers, and called the Liberals to office. Since that time the power in Belgium has

alternated between both parties. The Liberals have been in office three times (1847-1855, 1857-1870, 1878-1884), while the Catholics have had the direction of affairs three times (1855-57, 1870-78, 1884-1909).

In the Liberal ministry of 1847 both sections of the Liberal party were represented, the old Unionist party led by Charles Rogier, and the younger section by Frère-Orban, deputy of Liège. The latter was the ablest man of his party, and decidedly hostile to the Catholic Church. This hostility was shown by the law on charitable bequests (1849), according to which such bequests could not be administered by private executors or administrators, but only by the state bureaus, and all charitable institutions were placed under the state control. The object of the measure, as was admitted at the time, was the secularisation of charity, and the centralisation of the public service. In educational matters the Liberals were dissatisfied with the law of 1842, and were determined to substitute a system of state schools for the free schools then in existence. Hence, a law on secondary schools was introduced in 1850. It ordered the erection of ten royal athenæums, fifty secondary schools, and two normal schools. The direction of these establishments was to be placed entirely in the hands of the state, and the clergy were to be invited to give religious instruction to the pupils. Many of the older Liberals were entirely dissatisfied with such a measure, which was entirely opposed to the religious tradition of the Belgian people. Hence, a compromise known as the Convention of Antwerp, was agreed to between the bishops and the government. According to this convention the religious education was to be given by a clergyman belonging to the religion of the majority of the pupils, the religious books were to be selected by the bishop. The books used in the secular courses were not to be hostile to the Catholic religion, and the professors were to take care not to injure, but rather to strengthen, the religious beliefs of their students.* It is noteworthy that at this particular

* Verhaegen, *La Lutte Scolaire*, p. 33.

period all parties professed their anxiety for a united religious and secular education.

In the elections of 1854 the Liberals were beaten, partly on account of their charitable and educational legislation, partly by reason of their budget proposals, and the Catholics succeeded to power (1855). A weak ministry was formed under the leadership of Decker, and in 1857 a bill was introduced to amend the Charitable Bequests Bill of 1849. It permitted private individuals to manage charitable foundations according to the wishes of the testator, but such management was subject to the inspection and control of the civil authority. The Liberals raised a cry about endowments of conventual institutions. Riots broke out in several cities, notably in Brussels, and the Prime Minister, frightened by such scenes, resigned office (1857). The Liberals returned to power, but their opinions had undergone a considerable evolution. Frère-Orban was now in reality the leading man in the party, and the Liberals of the old school were regarded with grave suspicion. During their tenure of office (1857-1870) they declared war upon what they were pleased to call clerical aggression. The Law of Charitable Endowments (1859) completed the secularisation and government control of charitable institutions; the decree of 12th June, 1804, which guaranteed the religious character of cemeteries, was declared illegal (1862); the scholarships that had been founded by generous benefactors for promoting Catholic education, were seized by the state in 1864 in open disregard of the wishes of the testators, and of the opposition of the Belgian bishops and of the Pope; while by the law of 1870 only the students of the *Grands Séminaires* were exempted from military service, no such exception being made in favour of the novices belonging to religious orders.

Outside the Chamber of Deputies a violent campaign was being carried on against religious education. The freemason lodges were busy drafting resolutions, and preparing the public mind for an attack against the law

on primary schools passed in 1842. The society of the *Solidaires* (1862) bound its members to strike against the Catholic religion, and to refuse the ministrations of the clergy even at the hour of death. The *Ligue d'Enseignement* was formed to combat the influence of religion in the schools, and to found free schools where no priest should be allowed to enter. The secret societies endeavoured to capture the school teachers by the publication of educational newspapers attacking religion, and by promising the teachers an increase of salary under the secular regime. Those of the teachers who opposed the clergy received special marks of favour, and in all appointments to office adhesion to the Liberal party was an indispensable qualification for success.

The Catholics, who trusted to the justice of the government, began to realise that a defensive league was an indispensable necessity, and that unless they were going to allow Belgium to be decatholicised they must make strenuous exertions. Under the leadership of Malou and Woeste an earnest effort was made to organise the Catholic forces. Catholic societies were established in many of the parishes, and, in imitation of the German Catholic congresses, Catholic congresses were held in Mechlin in 1863, 1864, and 1867. A new life was infused into the Catholics of Belgium, and, as a result, a Catholic majority was returned at the elections of 1870. But the new ministry was devoid of courage, and the king, alarmed by the riots organised once more by the Liberals, urged on the Cabinet the necessity of moderation. The result was that though some useful legislation was passed, notably that guaranteeing the official recognition of the Flemish language in the Flemish provinces, none of the Liberal measures against the Church were repealed. The weakness of the government, and its inability to formulate a strong legislative programme disgusted the electors, and discouraged even the most advanced of the Catholic party.

During the years of opposition (1870-1878) the Liberal party underwent a radical transformation. The

moderate section which opposed any change in the constitution, and which was opposed to any attack upon religion as such, gradually disappeared, and the new Liberals put forward as their programme complete separation of Church and State, complete secularisation of education and of the cemeteries, and suppression of all exemptions from military service. The freedom of association guaranteed by the constitution of 1830, was too favourable to the religious congregations, and it was announced that some restrictive measures must be introduced. In the elections of 1878 the Liberals secured a majority of ten votes in the Chamber of Deputies, and six votes in the Senate. M. Malou resigned, and was succeeded by M. Frère-Orban. A new ministry, formed from the most extreme sections of the Liberal party, was formed. The first measure undertaken was an election law, which was meant to strengthen the position of the Liberal party in view of the attack which they were about to open upon the religious character of the primary schools.

The law of 1842 was a compromise, according to which the rights of both Church and State in the schools were recognised. The schools were placed under the control of the communes, religious education was obligatory for Catholics, religious inspectors and secular inspectors superintended the teaching in the schools, the curés were free to visit the schools when they wished, and the clergy were strongly represented in the commissions appointed to regulate the books and the method of teaching. The free training colleges were empowered to issue certificates to teachers, while in the state training colleges chaplains were appointed to give religious instruction, and in the examinations for diplomas the fitness of the candidates to impart religious teaching was carefully tested. The Catholics readily accepted this compromise, and handed over the majority of their schools to the local authorities.

The king's speech at the opening of the Chamber of Deputies in 1878 announced that the public education

ought to be subject exclusively to the civil power, and on the 21st January, 1879, the bill on primary education was submitted to the Chamber. It was proposed that the primary schools should be strictly neutral, that the clergy should have no control, and should not be allowed even to enter the schools, that the school teachers should be subject to the central educational board rather than to the local managers, that a portion of the school should be set aside where the priests might give religious instruction, that the free schools should receive no public grants, and that the diplomas of the free training colleges for teachers should not be accepted as sufficient qualifications for candidates seeking positions in the public schools. The aim of the bill was to abolish religious instruction in the schools, but to deceive their more moderate supporters the Liberals laid great stress upon the facilities afforded for religious instruction. With the teachers trained in the government normal schools by irreligious professors, and absolutely independent of the ecclesiastical authorities, the Liberals had no reason to fear the effect of a few hours' religious instruction.*

The introduction of the school law was sufficient to unite the Catholics, and to develop their powers of stubborn resistance. Clergy and laymen vied with one another in their denunciation of the measure. The Belgian bishops, under the leadership of Cardinal Dechamps, of Mechlin, gave an excellent lead to the movement. In their meetings (7th Dec., 1878, 21st Jan., 1879) they condemned the bill, and on the 31st January they issued a joint Lenten pastoral calling upon the people to offer the measure the most strenuous opposition. The Catholic Deputies, Malou, Beernaert, Woeste, &c., went through the country exposing the true nature of the scheme and rousing the enthusiasm of the Catholic masses. The Catholic societies (*Cercles Catholiques*), the electoral associations, the religious confraternities, and the workmen's associations, threw

* Verhaegen, *op. cit.*, Chap. II., III., IV.

themselves into the struggle. Committees to prepare resistance to the measure were established in every parish, and these were united under a central committee at work in Brussels. From all parts of the kingdom petitions began to pour in against the measure. The government tried to repress these manifestations by dismissing all officials who favoured opposition to the proposed bill, but each dismissal only tended to increase the volume of resistance. The Catholic newspapers did valuable work in unmasking the danger, and many able Catholic professors at Louvain and elsewhere took a leading part in defence of the educational liberty guaranteed by the constitution. By these measures the country was won over before the discussions opened in the Chamber of Deputies.

In the discussion in the Chamber of Deputies both sides put forward their most competent speakers, and the report of the debates on the School Law in Belgium furnishes the best expression of Catholic and Liberal principles of education that could be found. The Catholics contested every clause in the bill, but, as had been foreseen from the beginning, it was passed by a majority of six votes (6th June, 1879). The bishops renewed their condemnation of the proposals on the 12th June, and four days later the discussion opened in the Senate. The Catholic senators having declared their opposition to the measure, refused to take any further responsibility, and the bill was passed by a majority of two. On the 1st July the king signed the measure, and the "Law of Misfortune" (*Loi de malheur*), as the Catholics called it, was duly promulgated.

Both parties awaited with considerable anxiety the attitude which the bishops of Belgium would adopt towards the new law. Would they condemn it unreservedly, or would they accept it conditionally and under protest? The archbishop of Mechlin soon relieved the anxiety by declaring that he would have nothing to do with the execution of such a law, nor would he allow any of his clergy to afford the slightest co-operation.

His example was followed by all the suffragan bishops. Later on (September) instructions were sent out to the clergy pointing out that no Catholic could be allowed to send his children to the state schools, to teach in them, or to act as inspector; and that, unless in certain special circumstances, any Catholic who continued to do so should be excluded from the sacraments. But negative measures were not enough. It was necessary to provide rival establishments where the secular training might be as good as in the state schools, and where the religion of the children would be perfectly secure. The creation of a rival school system was a gigantic task, but the issues at stake were of extreme importance, and the Catholics of Belgium resolved to undertake it. They had already in their hands considerably over 1,000 schools, and it was necessary to erect new schools in the parishes where only the state establishments existed. Rich and poor in Belgium hastened to subscribe according to their means. Some of the Catholic noblemen established as many as one hundred schools out of their own resources, while the very poorest subscribed their mite to help on the work.

The greatest difficulty was to find teachers for the new establishments. In the case of the female schools the Sisters who had been in charge of the public schools since 1842 were at hand to supply the want, while, in addition, most of the female teachers resigned their places after the publication of the episcopal instructions, and were prepared to accept positions in the free schools. Many of the male teachers also resigned their places, and offered their services to the clergy. Seminarists volunteered to give up their studies, and take temporary charge of primary schools, and, in some places, where it was impossible to find suitable candidates, the clergy themselves conducted the classes.

After the vacation both systems of schools began work in October, but it was soon evident that the vast majority of the scholars had deserted the state schools. In many districts the teachers were left without any

pupils, while in others, which formerly had a large attendance, only three or four presented themselves. In a short time 60 per cent. of the children had left the official establishments, and the percentage increased according as Catholic schools were established. In the Flemish provinces the free schools were very flourishing, whereas in the Liège and Hainaut districts the state schools retained the upper hand. M. Frère-Orban and his friends, fearing the opposition of the bishops and of the Belgian Catholics, determined to open negotiations with the Pope. The negotiations lasted from 1878 till 1880, and the subject-matter was the attitude of the Belgian episcopate towards the constitution and the school law. In regard to the first point the Pope had no difficulty about giving a re-assuring reply, especially as the bishops were taking their stand upon the liberties guaranteed by the constitution of 1830; but in case of the schools the matter was not free from serious difficulties. The Pope was inclined to make some concessions to the government inasmuch as he was opposed to a wholesale condemnation of the state schools, and would have preferred that the bishops should have considered each individual school on its merits. The bishops pointed out that such a course of action was certain to involve great difficulties, and, as a protest, would be practically useless. The Pope yielded to their counsels, and left the responsibility for the selection of a policy entirely on their own shoulders. M. Frère-Orban accused Leo XIII. of double dealing, and recalled the Belgian ambassador from the Vatican, while at the same time (June, 1880) Mgr. Seraphino Vannuttelli, Papal nuncio at Brussels, received his passports.*

The Catholic schools continued to multiply, and though the government increased the expenses of the public schools, and offered every inducement to both teachers and pupils, the vast majority of the children held aloof from the state schools. In revenge a new law was passed in 1881 on secondary schools; the pen-

* T'Serclaes, *Le Pape Léon XIII.*, Vol. I., Chap. X.

sions of the prominent clergy were suppressed, as were also the burses for ecclesiastical students in the seminaries; the exemption of the clergy from military service was abolished in 1883, and a commission was appointed (1880) to take evidence on the state of the primary schools. The commissioners were invested with great powers, which they used to the fullest extent in harassing the clergy and the teachers in the free schools. A similar commission was appointed (1881) to examine the methods of teaching in the different schools, but the free schools refused to admit the commissioners. Finally, in 1884, it was proposed to establish a commission of inquiry into the houses of the religious congregations, and into their property and financial affairs, but such a measure was too advanced for some of the Liberal party, and the government found itself in a minority.

The Liberals had succeeded in maintaining themselves in office by a series of electoral laws restricting the voting powers of those likely to favour the Catholic party, and by extending the suffrage in the large cities where the Radicals were particularly strong. Between 1878 and 1884 six separate laws of this character were forced through the two Houses of Parliament. But notwithstanding this artificial buttressing the voice of the country could not be stifled. The years of persecution had strengthened the organisation of the Catholic party, and had obliged them to formulate a definite election programme, namely, reform of the school law, reform of the electoral laws, and a greater autonomy in the administration of the districts and provinces. The elections for half the members of the Chamber of Deputies were held in June, 1884, and the result was disastrous to the Liberals. Nearly all their prominent leaders who presented themselves were defeated, and the Catholics returned to the Chamber with a majority of thirty-two. The country, glad at having been freed from such an incubus, has maintained the Catholic party in power since 1884 till the present time.

As a result of the elections Leopold II. called upon Malou, the leader of the Catholic party, to form a Cabinet. The official relations with the Holy See were renewed, and the school law of 1879 was repealed. The government acted, however, with great moderation. Instead of reverting to the law of 1842, they merely took the control of the schools from the central authority, and placed them in the hands of the local boards. Each district should maintain a school, but it might select either a public school or a private religious one. Unless twenty heads of families demanded a public school the district or commune was not obliged to erect one, and if it consented to the erection it could insist upon religious instruction being given before and after the hours for secular education. The state schools and the free schools were to be treated equally in regard to remuneration, provided the free schools were willing to submit to state inspection. According to the law of 1895 the provinces and the Treasury contributed to the support of the primary schools. The Liberals resorted to the old trick of organising riots to show their disapprobation of such a measure, and proclaimed that the local elections of 1884 showed that the country disapproved of the Catholic policy. The king dismissed two of the prominent Catholic leaders, Woeste and Jacobs, whereupon Malou resigned office in favour of Beernaert, who devoted himself principally to social and industrial reform.

Such a policy had become an urgent necessity owing to the alarming spread of the Socialist movement amongst the workmen in the large industrial centres. While the Liberals and Catholics were engaged in a desperate struggle for the schools a Socialist party committed to the principles of Marx had been organised, and had succeeded in capturing from the Liberals a large section of the workmen and artisans who had hitherto supported them. The strikes and attempted revolutions of 1886 were a warning to Catholics that unless a programme of social reforms was put forward, and a

Catholic working-men's organisation inaugurated, the Socialists would soon capture the machinery of government.

But the work of winning over the Catholic party to a sufficient recognition of the importance of the Labour movement presented certain elements of difficulty. Its leaders were drawn for the most part from the upper or middle classes, whose interests were more or less opposed to those of the artisans, peasants, and workmen; while in addition to this the co-operative societies which were such an important element in the Socialist propaganda, and which must be employed also by the Catholic democratic party, were extremely distasteful to the retailers and merchants, who formed such a strong body in the Catholic party. But in Liège, the revolutionary centre of Belgium, where the danger was particularly pressing, the bishop, Mgr. Doutreloux, aided by one of the professors in his theological seminary, threw himself into the work of organising a Catholic democratic league. Congresses were held at Liège in 1886, 1887, 1889, the rules for the organisation were drafted, and the clergy were commanded by the bishop to take up the work with great earnestness. The Catholic Democratic League soon spread into all the large centres of industry, and became a most important factor in the political development of the country.*

The Catholic ministry set itself to the task of carrying through important social reforms, by appointing competent commissions to study the grievances of the working classes. Legislation was introduced on the lines suggested by the commissioners. Councils of industry and labour were established (1887); Conciliation Boards were set up (1889), laws were passed regarding labourers' cottages (1889, 1897), the inspection of dangerous factories (1888), the abolition of the truck system (1887), the work of women and children (1889), the establishment of Trades Unions (1898), the payment of Old Age Pensions (1900), Savings Banks (1902), Mutual Aid

* Veggian, *Il Movimento Sociale Cristiano*, 4 ed., Vicenza, 1902, Chap. VI.

Societies (1894, 1898), and compensation for injuries (1903).*

The work of reconciling the interests of the different classes composing the Catholic party was beset with great difficulties, and at times it required no ordinary prudence to prevent a rupture between the conservative and democratic sections. This was especially true after 1893, when a revision of the electoral laws was carried through according to which the number of those having votes was increased from about 150,000 to 1,492,382. The Democratic League claimed a voice in the selection of the deputies and senators, while the Federation of Catholic Circles and the Conservative League wished to reserve to themselves the supreme control. In the diocese of Liège the bitterness between both sections was greatest. The bishop, Mgr. Doutreloux, issued a pastoral which was approved by the Pope and by the Belgian bishops. He pointed out that wherever it was not possible to organise mixed associations of employers and artisans, Trades Associations should be formed, and the clergy should take part in them. This declaration in favour of autonomy only increased the dissensions, and Leo XIII. was obliged to intervene in order to bring about peace (1895). Finally, a general conference of representatives of all sections was summoned at Mechlin in 1896. Clergymen, capitalists, Trades Union organisers, politicians, and university professors took part in the discussions of the conference. Ten resolutions were agreed upon by all parties, and the bishops recommended these resolutions to the Catholic societies, both conservative and democratic. All parties yielded a ready obedience to the decisions of the conference, except a section of the Christian Democrats, led by the Abbé Daens, at that time the deputy representing Alost. His followers were excluded from the Belgian Democratic Federation in 1897, and he himself having refused to obey the warnings of his bishop, and of the Holy See, was suspended from his ecclesiastical office.

* *Le Gouvernement Catholique*, pp. 36-40.

Since that time the supporters of the Abbé Daens have allied themselves with the Liberals or Socialists against the Catholic party.*

The success of the Catholic party in developing the industries and agriculture of the country, in promoting education, in extending the franchise, and in ameliorating the condition of the working classes strengthened its position, and won for it the continued support of the Belgian electors. On the other hand, its opponents were divided into three warring sections, the Moderate Liberals (*Doctrinaires*), the Progressive or Radical party, and the Socialists. In 1902, the Socialists determined to overturn the government by force, and riots were organised on a large scale in all the great industrial centres. The government was not, however, to be intimidated by such measures. The military were called out, and the disturbances were suppressed with a firm hand. Then a general strike was declared, but with no better result, and the strikers were obliged to return to their work in a few days. Nothing remained for the opponents of the Catholic party except to unite their forces, Liberal and Socialist, and to form a *bloc* on the model of the French *bloc*. This was done at the election of 1906, but the Catholic majority was still retained.

The success of the Catholic Church in Belgium is largely due to the freedom guaranteed to it by the constitution of 1831. This constitution ensured freedom of religious worship, freedom of association, and of education. The state abandoned all claims to interfere in purely ecclesiastical affairs. The appointment of the bishops of Belgium rests entirely in the hands of the Pope, and when they are appointed they may hold synods, publish decrees and pastorals, appoint to benefices or professorships in their seminaries without any consultations with the civil authorities. In the management of the temporalities of the Church each parish has a board of administration to assist the clergy and

* Veggian, *op. cit.*, Chap. XV.

bishops. This board is recognised as a legal corporation, and since 1870 the government, if called upon, might insist upon examining the revenues and expenditure of these boards. On the other hand, though the Church is independent, there is not an absolute separation between Church and State. An official representative is maintained at the Vatican, the state is represented at the great religious functions, the salaries of the clergy, at least in part, are paid from public funds, and assistance is given for erecting and repairing churches.

The liberty of association permitted religious congregations to be founded in Belgium, and the number of these has considerably increased during the nineteenth century. The orders or congregations represented in Belgium include the Benedictines, the Premonstratensians, the Capuchins, the Jesuits, the Dominicans, and numerous bodies of lay brothers engaged in educational or charitable institutions. The different congregations of nuns are engaged in the primary and secondary schools, the hospitals, and orphanages. Besides their labours in Belgium itself the congregations are doing good work in the foreign missions, especially in Africa and in India. The congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary was founded in 1862 for the evangelisation of the Congo and Mongolia.

In education the work of the Belgian Catholics has been most remarkable. Their struggle for the maintenance of a religious system of education in the primary schools has been already described. Availing themselves to the fullest of the freedom allowed them by the constitution they have established a system of secondary schools, both male and female, that are in no way inferior to the state establishments, and that are frequented by three-fourths of the Belgian students. Unlike the Liberals, who, with the exception of the foundation of the free university at Brussels, and a few primary schools, have done nothing, the Catholics can fairly claim to have made some sacrifices for their educational opinions.

But the most remarkable and the most successful of the works undertaken by Catholics in this direction is the University of Louvain.* The old university of Louvain was suppressed during the French occupation in 1797 as being out of harmony with republican principles. Taking advantage of the liberty guaranteed by the constitution of 1831 the bishops of Belgium determined in 1833 to found a free Catholic University. Pope Gregory XVI. approved of their resolution in 1834, and the university was founded at first in Mechlin, but on the invitation of the municipal authorities of Louvain, who offered the use of the old university buildings, the new institution was transferred thither in 1835. Five faculties were established, namely, divinity, law, medicine, philosophy and letters, and science. The university opened with only 13 professors and 86 students, but it developed rapidly. In 1864, it had a staff of 60 professors, and the number of students amounted to 768; while at present it can boast of over 100 professors, and over 2,000 students. Numerous institutions have been annexed to the several faculties, such as the Polytechnic School, the Schools of Agriculture, of Political and Social Sciences, of Commercial and Consular Sciences, and Institutes of Philosophy, of Experimental Psychology, of Biology, and of Bacteriology. Seventeen scientific reviews are published from Louvain.

The university is owned by the Catholic bishops of Belgium, and is supported by private subscriptions. Unfortunately, it is not recognised as a legal corporation, and the absence of such recognition often militates against donations to the university. The degrees at Louvain are of the same value in the eyes of the law as those of any other university. The possession of such a model institution has been of incalculable advantage to the Catholics of Belgium. It has furnished them with professors for their secondary schools, and has supplied the leading men of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies for the last fifty years. Its students are to be

* *L'Université de Louvain*, 1425-1900, Brussels, 1900.

found in all departments of public life in Belgium, and the vast majority of them remain true to the principles they imbibed during their student days.

(b) HOLLAND

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. XI., Chap. XXII. Albers, *Geschiednis van het herstel der Hiërarchie in de Nederlanden*, 2 Vols., Utrecht, 1903-4. Albers-Hedde, *Manuel d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, Paris, 1908, pp. 509-15. Nippold, *Die Römische Kirche im Königreich der Niederlande*, Leipzig, 1877.

William II. (1840-49) was of a conciliatory disposition, and did not wish to persecute any of his subjects. Owing, however, to the agitation that had been raised against the ministry on account of the marriage of William I. to a Catholic lady, the king was obliged to dismiss them from office. A little group of malcontents, under the leadership of Thorbecke, began to demand a revision of the constitution with the object of widening the suffrage, and restricting the power of the Crown. William II. steadily resisted such demands for revision till he was frightened into acquiescence by the news of the French Revolution (1848). The new constitution was distinctly favourable to Catholics. Full freedom of religious worship, of education, and of association was guaranteed, while the exercise of the *Placet* on papal and ecclesiastical documents was abolished. The extreme Calvinist party was strongly opposed to such concessions, but the Catholics were numerous and determined; and their resistance was specially feared at a time of such great political disturbance in Europe. In another direction the fundamental law of 1848 was favourable to Catholics. It granted greater freedom to the provincial and district councils, and the Catholics, being grouped together for the most part in certain districts and provinces, were certain to have a majority upon the local councils in these portions of the country.

William II. died in 1849, and was succeeded by William III. (1849-1890). In the Chamber of Deputies there were three principal parties, the Orthodox party determined to support a Calvinist state with denominational education, the Liberals anxious for neutral schools, and the Catholics, resolved to assert the independence of their Church. The Catholic nobility of Holland, encouraged by the liberty guaranteed in the fundamental law, petitioned the Pope to re-establish the hierarchy in Holland. Similar petitions were forwarded to Rome by the vicars-apostolic, and by the Catholic members in the Senate and Chamber of Deputies. Pius IX., yielding to their request, published the Encyclical, *Ex quo die arcano* (4th March, 1853), by which he established an archbishopric at Utrecht, with four suffragan sees at Breda, Haarlem, Bois-le-Duc, and Ruremonde. The publication of the Pope's Encyclical raised a veritable storm in Holland. The scenes that had already been witnessed in England on the occasion of the re-establishment of the hierarchy were renewed in Holland. The Calvinists declared that the state was in danger, and that the government should take energetic action against such aggression. But Thorbecke was not inclined to imitate Lord John Russell. He declared that the government had no power to prevent the Catholics from organising their body as they wished; and, as the king showed some sympathy with the "April Movement," the Liberals resigned office, and an Orthodox ministry was called upon to legislate for the country. The Catholics and Liberals formed a coalition to oppose the proposed penal legislation against the Catholic Church. In face of this coalition the Orthodox party were unable to carry out their programme. Laws were passed against bishops taking their titles from the sees of Utrecht and Haarlem, since these were already occupied by Jansenist bishops, forbidding any foreigner to accept any ecclesiastical office in Holland without the consent of the king, and prohibiting the use of ecclesiastical dress outside the churches, and public religious

rites in case of Catholic funerals. Nobody regarded such measures as of any importance, and on the return of the Liberal party to office most of them were quietly annulled.

For some time the alliance between the Liberals and Catholics continued, but it was broken up on the question of the primary schools. The Liberals insisted upon a system of neutral public schools, and were anxious to make these compulsory, while the Orthodox party were anxious for denominational education. In 1857, the law on primary schools was passed. The public schools were to give no denominational education. Their object was "to develop the intellectual faculties of the children, and to bring them up in the practice of the Christian and social virtues." The teachers were forbidden to do or permit anything that might be contrary to the respect due to the religious sentiments of the children. The schools were placed under the local authorities, who were obliged to raise the cost by taxation, but who, in return for this, had the privilege of appointing the teachers and superintending the instruction. The law of 1857 did not forbid the erection and maintenance of free schools, and both parties, Catholic and Orthodox, continued to support their own establishments in many of the districts. Besides, in the provinces and communes, where the vast body of the people were Catholic or Orthodox Calvinist, the local authorities so used their right of appointing teachers, and of superintending the instructions as to transform the public schools into denominational establishments in accordance with the wishes of the parents.

Meanwhile, the work of organising the Catholic Church in Holland was being pushed forward steadily. The dioceses were divided into regular parishes, and in accordance with the Papal instruction of 1858 cathedral chapters, consisting of a provost and eight canons, were established in the different dioceses. The canons were dispensed from residence at the cathedrals on account of the absence of prebends and the scarcity of clergy, but

they were obliged to come together once a month to recite the divine office, and to assist the bishop by their advice. To the canons belonged the right of selecting the candidates to be recommended for appointments to vacant bishoprics. Ecclesiastical seminaries were erected in each of the dioceses according to the Tridentine regulations. But owing to the years of persecution, and the absence of an organised hierarchy, very many of the ecclesiastical decrees had been allowed to fall into disuse; and it became necessary for the bishops to summon a national council to lay down a new code of canon law for the church in Holland. The council met at Utrecht in 1865,* and was attended by the bishops of Holland and of some of the Dutch Colonies, by the representatives of the chapters, and by the superiors of the seminaries and religious congregations. The decrees were confirmed by the Pope in 1866, and became the standard code for the management of ecclesiastical affairs in Holland.

The education question was still the great subject of contention in the country. The Catholics joined forces with the remnants of the Orthodox party, who, having discarded much of their religious bigotry, were conservative in their tendency, and both bodies were at one in denouncing the secular school system. A Catholic department was established in the Ministry of Worship, but the union of Catholics and Conservatives was unable to make any changes in primary education. The Liberals, having returned to power, succeeded in passing another school law in 1878, which increased the salaries of the teachers, and fixed the amount of contribution to be paid by the state and the local authorities, but the principle of undenominationalism was still maintained. In 1889, however, a new arrangement was arrived at according to which the denominational schools which had a certain average, and which were open to state inspection, might receive financial assistance. The free schools and the public schools were placed upon

* *Coll. Lacensis*, Vol. V., pp. 725-931.

an equal footing. In addition the Catholics maintain their own training colleges for teachers.

The laws of Holland allow full liberty to the religious orders and congregations,* and the numbers of these bodies have been considerably increased by the exiles from Germany during the Kulturkampf and by the monks and nuns expelled from France in recent years. The orders principally represented are the Premonstratensians, Dominicans, Franciscans, Jesuits, and Trappists. Very flourishing secondary schools are conducted by some of the religious bodies, notably the Jesuits, while in 1894 a chair of Thomistic philosophy was established in the University of Amsterdam. Since the law of 1905 it is possible for the Catholics to establish a university with full powers of conferring degrees, and steps have been taken to avail themselves of this privilege.

The constitution permits the Catholics to organise themselves, and to conduct the affairs of the Church without any state interference. The appointment of bishops is made without any reference to the civil authorities, and the bishops are free to appoint to all ecclesiastical offices. The clergy receive their salaries, at least in part, from the state, and the parochial and diocesan property is held by parochial or diocesan committees, each of which, according to the law of Holland, forms a legal corporation. The appointments to these committees rest with the bishop, who may revoke the appointment when he wishes.

The Catholics of Holland organised a strong Catholic party in the chamber of deputies and in the Senate. Their representatives, forming as they did about one-third of the total number, were able to hold the balance between the Liberal and Conservative parties and to secure full liberty for their co-religionists. But as in Belgium, the growth of the Socialist party has necessitated a new grouping of the political sections. Socialism was introduced into Holland from Belgium and Ger-

* Girón y Arcas, *La Situación Jurídica de la Iglesia Católica*, Madrid, 1905, 221 *sqq.*

many, and found a capable leader in the person of Nieuwenhuis, a Lutheran pastor. By his exertions Socialist leagues were formed in nearly all the great industrial centres, and a congress of Socialist representatives was held at Rotterdam in 1882. The movement was particularly violent, and the dreadful riots in Amsterdam in 1886 opened the eyes of the people to the dangers of the new party.

The Catholics were obliged to follow the example of their brethren in Germany and put forward a democratic programme. A confederation known as the Popular Catholic League of Holland was formed in 1889, and spread its branches throughout the Catholic districts. After the appearance of the Papal Encyclical on Labour, a congress was held at Amsterdam in 1893 to determine a programme which all classes of Catholics might accept. The object of the society was declared to be a defence of the working men against their three greatest enemies, materialism, individualism, and socialism.* A common programme was agreed to at the congress. The union of all Christian parties in Holland to oppose the Socialists has resulted in giving the Catholics a strong representation in the Conservative or Christian ministry. In the elections held in June, 1909, the combination of Catholics and Conservatives scored a notable victory over their Liberal and Socialist opponents.

The Jansenist sect still continues to exist in Holland. They have an archbishop at Utrecht, and bishops at Haarlem and Deventer. Their body amounted to 8,754 in 1899, with 27 clergymen and 26 churches. At the restoration of the hierarchy in Holland in 1853 the Jansenists united with the Calvinists in the agitation against the Catholic bishops. They refused to accept the definition of the Immaculate Conception, as well as that of Papal Infallibility in 1870. During the Old Catholic troubles in Germany they played a prominent part in assisting the opponents of the Church, and encouraging them in their attacks upon the Pope.

* Veggian, *Il Movimento Sociale Cristiano*, 4 ed., Vicenza, 1920-
Chap. XV.

(c) LUXEMBURG

Ruppert, *Les lois et règlements sur l'organisation . . . de Luxembourg*, Luxembourg, 1885. Eltz, *Aus Luxemburgs Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, Treves, 1891. *Luxemburg in Kirchenlexikon. Annuaire Pontifical Catholique*, 1909, p. 458.

The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg has undergone many political changes during the last hundred years. At the beginning of the nineteenth century it was united to France, and subject to the ecclesiastical rule of the bishop of Metz. At the Congress of Vienna it was handed over to the king of Holland as an indemnity to the House of Orange-Nassau for the loss of the German territory that had been seized by Prussia. But the Grand Duchy still remained a member of the Germanic Confederation and was united to Holland only by a personal union. In ecclesiastical affairs it was still subject to the bishop of Metz, but the people objected to foreign administration, and in 1822 the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg was united to the diocese of Namur. In the Revolution of 1830 the Belgian forces over-ran most of the country, but the capital was held for Holland by Prussian troops. A certain portion of it remained united to Belgium, but in 1839 the remainder was restored to Holland. As a result of this the portion placed under the rule of the king of Holland was separated from the diocese of Namur, and was placed under the jurisdiction of a vicar apostolic. A seminary was established in 1845 for the education of priests for the Grand Duchy. After the dissolution of the Germanic Confederation the king of Holland was willing to dispose of his rights over Luxembourg to France, but Prussia objected to such an increase of French territory, and an international conference decided that the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg was to be an independent neutral state (1867) under the personal rule of the king of Holland. On the death of William III. of Holland in 1890, and the succession of his daughter, the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg passed under the rule of the

nearest male relative of the late king, namely, the Duke of Nassau. A separate bishopric was created for Luxemburg in 1870. The establishment of the new see was approved by the chambers and the government in 1873. The total population of the Grand Duchy in 1900 was 236,543, of whom about 230,000 were Catholic. The bishop must be a native of Luxemburg, and his appointment must be approved by the government before he can begin to exercise his jurisdiction. The bishop, clergy, and seminary professors are paid by the state. The Catholics are particularly active and zealous, and in few states of Europe is the Catholic press so able and influential.

CHAPTER XV

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

(a) SPAIN

La España del Siglo XIX., 3 Vols., Madrid, 1886-8. Fuente, *Historia Ecclesiástica de España*, 2 Vols., Madrid, 1873-5. Knöpfler-Villaescusa, *Manual de Historia Eclesiástica*, Freiburg, 1908. Gams, *Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, Regensburg, 1879, III. Bd., II. Abt.

THE history of Spain during the nineteenth century is occupied principally with revolutions, civil wars between different factions, and changes both in the constitution and in the administration. Under Queen Isabella II. (1833-1868) there was a constant struggle between the Liberal party and the court favourites for possession of the supreme power in Spain. From 1850 till 1854 a moderate party held the reins of government, and to win over the Carlists, who were strongly Catholic in their tendencies, a policy of reconciliation with the Pope and the Church was adopted. The concordat was concluded in 1851; and the bishops and clergy who had been in exile were allowed to return to Spain. As a result, many of the supporters of Don Carlos were induced to lend their support to the new regime. But the government, strengthened by the general reaction against revolution and liberalism, ventured too far when it proposed a revision of the constitution which would have deprived the Cortes of much of its power, reduced the number of its deputies, and erected the Senate into an hereditary chamber.

This policy led to a revolution (1854). The leaders of this movement were General O'Donnell, who was himself a moderate Liberal, and Espartero, the head of the Progressive party. The more extreme party, under Espartero, began an attack upon the Church, while the Carlists rose again "in defence of religion." The old scenes were in danger of being enacted once more, especially when Espartero proposed a law for the sale of the ecclesiastical property, including both that set aside for the support of charitable institutions, and for the maintenance of the clergy. The sums received from the sale were to be invested in three per cent. government stock, and the interest handed over to the former ecclesiastical owners or administrators. Naturally enough, the clergy protested against such confiscation, and the queen refused to give her sanction to the measure. In case Espartero persisted she threatened to resign the crown (1855). O'Donnell, who was already in conflict with the Progressive party, gradually strengthened his position by the appointment of moderates to all vacant positions, and in 1856 Queen Isabella dismissed Espartero, and called upon O'Donnell to form a ministry. But the Church property law was still a disturbing factor in Spanish politics. Narvaez, who succeeded O'Donnell, abolished this law, and restored the constitution of 1845.

When O'Donnell returned to power in 1858 he tried to form a Cabinet representative of all sections. Negotiations were opened with the Pope, who protested against the law on the confiscation of ecclesiastical property as a violation of the concordat, and in 1859 an agreement arrived at between Spain and the Holy See was published.*

The Italian war, and the overthrow of the Temporal Power, had a deep interest for the Spanish nation, but the war in which Spain was herself involved with the Sultan of Morocco occupied the attention of the nation. The failure of the expedition to Mexico (1862) increased the difficulty of O'Donnell's position. He was anxious

* Nussi, *Conventiones* XLV.

to recognise the new kingdom of Italy, but such a measure was in opposition to the feelings of the queen and of the vast majority of the nation, and in 1863 his resignation was tendered and accepted.

From 1863 till 1868 Spain was in a most disturbed condition. The Conservatives were in power, but were attacked by a strong coalition, which stopped at nothing in order to secure the overthrow of the government. The ministers had recourse to desperate weapons, such as wholesale arrests of the leaders, followed by imprisonment or exile. But the death of O'Donnell in 1867, and of Narvaez in 1868 deprived the party of the only leaders who were capable of suppressing the rebellion that was being prepared. Liberals, Progressives and Radicals joined hands, and the army, roused by the arrest of its generals, agreed to support them. The rebellion broke out in September, 1868, and before the end of the month Madrid was in the hands of the revolutionaries. Queen Isabella fled across the frontiers into French territory, where she was kindly received by Napoleon III.

A provisional government was formed at Madrid under the presidency of Marshal Serrano. In the notification addressed to the governments of Europe the new rulers of Spain declared their intention to adopt as their principles the sovereignty of the people, the liberty of worship, of education, and of the press. The new Cortes met in January, 1869, and set itself to formulate a constitution. Liberty of worship was guaranteed, and civil marriage was legalised in spite of the protests of the ecclesiastical authorities. The Republican party, led by Castelar, proposed that Spain should be declared a republic, but the majority clung to the monarchical form of government. The difficulty was to find a suitable candidate for the throne. Alphonsus, the son of Isabella II., was ruled out as belonging to the Bourbon race. The King of Portugal, the Duke of Genoa, Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern, Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg refused to accept the proffered throne. Finally, the Duke of Aosta, the son of Victor Emmanuel, agreed to accept the title, and his appointment was carried in the

Cortes by 191 votes against 120 (26th Nov., 1870). Such a selection showed the utter contempt of the new rulers for the feelings of the Catholics of Spain. The majority of the people, and the entire body of the clergy, resented the bestowal of the throne of Spain upon the son of the man who had been excommunicated for his attacks upon the Papal States, and who had so recently shocked the feelings of the Catholic world by his bombardment of Rome.

The new king, who assumed the name Amadeus I., arrived in Spain in December, 1870, but from the very beginning he was made to feel that his presence was regarded as an unwarrantable intrusion. The nobles and clergy held aloof; the moderate men formed a party in favour of Alphonsus, the son of the deposed queen; the Carlists rallied their forces on behalf of Charles VII., the grandson of the brother of Don Carlos; while the Radicals, who supported Amadeus, declared war upon the Church. Amadeus, tired of his unfortunate situation, and unwilling to resort to desperate methods for the defence of the throne, abdicated, and a republic was established (12th Feb., 1873). But those supporting the republican form of government were divided amongst themselves into warring sections, and the Carlists took up arms in support of religion and of their chief. In many of the provinces fearful struggles took place between the contending forces. The generals were tired of such a hopeless conflict, and they determined to offer the throne to Alphonsus XII. (Dec., 1874). He returned to Spain, and was welcomed by the majority of the people. The Carlists, however, refused to recognise him, and continued the struggle until the presence of two overwhelming armies forced them to flee across the frontiers into France (1876). During these years of disturbance religion had suffered both from the hostility of the Radicals and from the alliance of a large portion of the clergy with the Carlist party.

Alphonsus XII. was anxious to adopt a policy of conciliation. He endeavoured to fulfil the promises that

had been made when the ecclesiastical property was seized by the state, closed the Protestant chapels and schools that had been opened, abolished civil marriage and opened negotiations with the Holy See in regard to the religious clauses which should be embodied in the new constitution. The Conservative party wished to return to the formula of 1845, when the Catholic religion was alone tolerated, while the Constitutional or Liberal party wished for full freedom of worship. In the end the Cortes adopted a compromise. It was declared that the Catholic religion was the religion of the state, and that the state was obliged to support its clergy; but, on the other hand, it was guaranteed that no man should be disturbed on account of his religious opinions, or for the exercise of his worship. The public ceremonies or manifestations of any religion other than that of the state religion were forbidden (1876). Though the Pope and the bishops protested against a religious toleration that destroyed the absolutely Catholic nature of the Spanish kingdom, still the conciliatory policy of Alphonsus XII. succeeded in winning over to his side most of his old opponents. Two main political parties were formed, the Conservatives and the Liberals, who continue to dispute the power in Spain till the present time. The Republicans and the Carlists succeeded in returning a few members to the Chamber.

The election of Leo XIII. was well received in Spain, where it was hoped that the new Pontiff might make peace between the contending parties. The Carlists were earnest Catholics, and put forward the maintenance of Catholic principles as one of the main planks in their programme. Hence, they secured the support of a large section of the clergy, and they tried to brand all their opponents as being enemies of the Catholic religion. Such a division was disastrous for Catholic interests, especially at a time when Socialism was spreading with alarming rapidity among the workmen in the large industrial cities of Spain. Leo XIII. was anxious to see peace restored to Spain, but he was still more

anxious that religion should not be mixed up with purely political issues to the great detriment of the Church. In 1881, a great Spanish pilgrimage to Rome was organised in order to express sympathy with the Pope after the disgraceful scenes that had been witnessed at the funeral of Pius IX. One of the principal leaders in the movement was Nocedal, the editor of the Carlist paper, *El Siglo Futuro*. The pilgrimage was denounced as a Carlist demonstration, and the controversy grew so warm that the Pope was obliged to interfere, and to request the organisers to abandon the idea of one national pilgrimage, in favour of separate diocesan organisations. In his addresses to the pilgrims in 1882, Leo XIII. strongly insisted upon the necessity of union amongst all sections of Catholics, and the same idea was dominant in the Encyclical which he addressed to the Spanish Catholics in 1883. He warned them against the danger of confounding religion with political issues, and besought them to unite in defence of religion.

The policy of Leo XIII. in Spain was similar to that pursued by him in France. Without forcing Legitimists or Carlists to abandon their own political sympathies, he exhorted them to accept the established form of government, so long as it had the support of the majority of the people, and in this way to put themselves in a position to defend the Church by constitutional weapons. But as in France, this policy met with bitter opposition. The Carlists refused to accept such directions, and a warm campaign was carried on by Nocedal in the *El Siglo Futuro* against the interference of Cardinal Rampolla, the Papal nuncio at the Court of Madrid. They contended that the functions of the nuncio were purely diplomatic, and that he had no authority to interfere in the internal affairs of the Catholics of the country. The Pope was constrained to express his condemnation of such views, and to justify the action of himself and his nuncio (1885). In the same year the mediation of the Pope in the dispute between Spain and Germany regarding the possession of the Caroline Islands, saved the honour of Spain, and

prevented the revolutionary party from getting an opportunity to overthrow the government.*

The question of education in Spain gave rise to serious difficulties with the Holy See. According to the concordat of 1851 the teaching in the primary and secondary schools and in the universities should be Catholic in tone, and the bishops were empowered to prevent anybody from teaching anything contrary to Catholic doctrine. But during the revolution of 1868 liberty of education as well as liberty of worship was promulgated. The new constitution restored the Catholic Church to the possession of the rights and privileges guaranteed in the concordat, but very little effort was made to secure the rights of the Church on education. In 1881, a circular was issued by the Minister of Education permitting professors and teachers to propound what they pleased without any other restriction than that imposed by their own conscience. The nuncio protested against these instructions, but could not secure their withdrawal. In 1885, a new decree was issued which placed the free schools established by the ecclesiastical authorities on the same level with the government schools, and, as a result, the number of free schools rapidly increased. In 1894, a project was submitted to make the schools purely secular institutions, but owing to the opposition of the Cortes the law was not passed, and a royal decree was issued, according to which every respect should be shown in the schools to the dogmas and moral teaching of Catholicism. The bishops opposed the change, and succeeded in restoring the religious instruction to the secondary schools.

In 1885, Alphonsus XII. died, and his wife, Maria Cristina, succeeded as regent for her daughter, and afterwards for her son, who was born after his father's death. The Pope continued to show his interest in Spanish affairs by exhorting the clergy and bishops to rally round the reigning dynasty. In 1894, a great pilgrimage, composed for the greater part of Spanish workmen,

* T'Serclaes, *Le Pape, Léon XIII.*, Vol. I., Chap. XVII.

visited Rome. The Pope exhorted the bishops to establish Catholic workingmen's associations in every parish in Spain. The necessity of this advice had become urgent owing to the rapid growth of Socialism since 1868. Barcelona was a great centre of the Socialist movement, and owing to the repressive measures taken by the government a large section of the party had become pure anarchists, and boasted of their resolve to terrorise the government. The other section adopted the principles of Marx, cut off all connection with the anarchist party, and succeeded in securing a large measure of support amongst the artisan classes in the manufacturing centres.*

The Catholics, in obedience to the Pope's instructions, set about the work of organisation. Catholic congresses were held annually; associations of different kinds were organised; attempts were made to formulate a programme of social reform, but owing to the political divisions and the difficulty of reconciling the different interests involved, the organisation is not effective.† As a result of the divisions amongst the Catholics the Liberal party was gradually strengthening itself in the country, and in the party itself the more radical element was acquiring a greater influence. The agitation against the Church was carried on mainly in regard to the multiplicity of religious orders and congregations existing in Spain. The concordat of 1851 guaranteed the full recognition of only three orders, yet it was pointed out that many others were enjoying privileges similar to those enjoyed by the orders protected by the concordat. In response to the demands of the party a decree was issued in 1901, during the ministry of Señor Sagasta, commanding the religious congregations to submit to the Law of Associations passed in 1887. They should report themselves within six months to the chief civil authority of their district, and present him with a copy of their statutes and other necessary documents. The bishops

* Winterer, *Le Socialisme Contemporain*, Paris, 1901, pp. 228-37.

† Veggian, *Il Movimento Sociale Cristiano*, Chap. XX.

protested against such a decree as being opposed to the stipulations of the concordat, and negotiations were opened with Rome for a peaceable settlement of the difficulty. A preliminary agreement was arrived at in 1901.

In order to study the question of the religious orders, and the reduction of the budget of worship, rendered necessary in Spain by the crippled financial condition of the country, a mixed commission was appointed in 1902 by the Pope and the Spanish government, and as a result of that commission a new convention was concluded between the representatives of Pius X. and of Alphonsus XIII. of Spain (19th June, 1904).^{*} According to the terms of this convention it was agreed that the religious orders then existing in Spain should be recognised as legal corporations by complying with certain simple conditions, while no religious institutions could be established in future without the consent of the government. The houses with communities of less than twelve members were to be suppressed, and no religious order or congregation as such should receive any support from the state. This convention was not approved by the Cortes.

The Liberals returned to power in 1905, and, owing to their divisions, could find only one subject on which the different sections were likely to be united, namely, an attack upon the religious congregations. The Minister of Worship published a circular declaring that civil marriage, even of Catholics, should be regarded as valid. This provoked the strong opposition of the bishops and clergy. In addition, a law against the religious congregations was drafted upon the model of the French law of associations (1901). Spain was not, however, ready for such a policy. Indignation meetings were held over the country, protests were made from all sides against the proposed legislation, and in the elections of 1907 the Liberal party suffered a complete defeat.

^{*} Sévestre, *Le Concordat de 1801*, Appendix 673-75.

(b) PORTUGAL

- Oliveira Martins, *Historia de Portugal*, 2 vols., 6th ed., Lisbon, 1906.
 Giedroyc, *Résumé de l'Histoire du Portugal au XIX^e Siecle*, Paris, 1875.
 MacSwiney, *Le Portugal et le Saint Siège*, Paris, 1881-9.
Conventiones de Rebus Ecclesiasticis, &c., Rome, 1893.

The history of the Catholic Church in Portugal during the nineteenth century forms a dark chapter in modern ecclesiastical history. Though the great body of the people remained strongly attached to their religion, the Church herself was enslaved, the religious congregations suppressed, and the clergy left at the mercy of a hostile government. Many causes have contributed to bring about the downfall of the Catholic religion in Portugal, the most notable of which are the civil wars that followed one another with alarming rapidity during the nineteenth century, the power exercised by the freemason lodges, especially amongst the higher classes, and in the government circles, and the complete subjection of the bishops, clergy, and church administration to the jurisdiction of the Crown. So long as every appointment in the Church is made by cabinet ministers, who are oftentimes prominent leaders in the freemason party, one can hardly hope for a resurrection of religion in Portugal.

Maria II. reigned from her restoration in 1834 till 1853, during which period the power was disputed between the Chartists, who wished to maintain the Charter of 1826, according to which all power was vested in the hands of the king, and the Septembrists, who desired the constitution of 1822, which acknowledged the sovereignty of the people. All attempts of the Pope to conclude a concordat proved useless owing to the unwillingness of the government to make any concessions, and instead of negotiating terms of agreement with Rome, the civil authorities set themselves to legislate for the management of ecclesiastical affairs in Portugal.

The same condition of affairs has been maintained under Pedro V. (1853-1861), Louis I. (1861-1889), Carlos I. (1889-1908), and Manuel I. (1908). Pius IX. made many attempts to regulate ecclesiastical affairs in Portugal, but his overtures were rejected. In 1862, he invited the bishops of Portugal to visit Rome for the canonisation of the Japanese Martyrs, but they did not come, nor did they even forward an explanation. The Pope reproved them sharply for their attitude, and besought them to be zealous in discharging the duties of their sacred office, especially in instructing the youth, and in training the students who were to be the clergy of the country (1862). The exhortations of the Pope do not seem to have had much effect. Only two of the bishops of Portugal were present at the Vatican Council, though it must be admitted, on the other hand, that the university of Coimbra, where freemason influence so long prevailed, pronounced strongly in favour of the Infallibility of the Pope. Under Leo XIII. better relations existed between the Holy See and Portugal, and owing mainly to the exertions of the Pope and his nuncios a great improvement began to make itself felt, especially in the ranks of the clergy, during the last ten years of his pontificate.

During the disastrous wars between Dom Miguel and Maria II. the ecclesiastical property was seized, the monasteries were suppressed, the bishops driven from their sees, and all the privileges and rights of the Church suspended. On the other side no concordat has been arranged by which new regulations could be established; and hence, to understand the state of affairs in Portugal, it is necessary to glance at the legal position of the Church, according to the civil code at present in force in the country.* By the decrees of 1833 and 1834 the religious orders of men were suppressed, not alone in

* For legal position of Church in Portugal, cf. :—Giobbio, *Lezioni di Diplomazia Ecclesiastica*, 2 vols., Rome, 1899-1901. Girón y Arcas, *La situación Jurídica de la Iglesia Católica*, Madrid, 1905.

Portugal itself but in all the Portuguese possessions, and the property owned by these bodies was transferred to the state. The convents were not immediately suppressed, but they were forbidden to receive novices, and the novices who had joined, and who had not yet made their vows, were sent away. In 1872, the government appeared to be anxious to give legal sanction to some religious congregations of women, but the conditions which were laid down were of such a kind as could not be accepted by the Holy See. But in reality religious bodies of both men and women did settle in Portugal and in the colonies, notably the Jesuits, the Lazarists, the Franciscans, and the Fathers of the Holy Ghost; and the government, pretending to be ignorant of their existence, took no steps to suppress them. The reason for this toleration is to be sought for mainly in the aid which the religious congregations afforded the government in their colonisation schemes, especially in Africa. By experience it was found that colonisation did not succeed without the presence of priests who were willing to accompany the colonists, and to risk all the dangers which the early settlers must be prepared to encounter. As a result the popular feeling was entirely on the side of the religious, who devoted themselves to works of charity, the care of the sick, and education.

But in 1901 an incident occurred that raised a new agitation against the religious orders. The daughter of the consul for Brazil wished to become a nun, but her father refused his consent. Notwithstanding this she sought and received admission into a convent, and the father appealed to the freemasons of the kingdom to aid him in recovering his daughter. Violent scenes took place in the capital, and though the ministers pointed out that the girl had attained her majority, and was free to select her own course, they yielded to the agitation. The government ordered the local authorities to suppress the contemplative orders, and to force the congregations taking part in education or charity to submit their

statutes for approval within eight days. Besides, they were commanded to prevent such bodies from receiving any novices for the future. These decrees were issued without being submitted to the Chambers, and were regarded by many as entirely illegal. In practice the decrees have not been strictly enforced, though the position of the religious congregations in Portugal is still very precarious, and the field of their activity very limited.

According to the concordat of 1773 great power was given to the Crown in the nomination of bishops and the appointments to benefices; but the Charter of 1826 went further and decreed that the right of nominating bishops and of appointing to ecclesiastical benefices rested with the Crown. Owing to the unfortunate civil war in Portugal, and the part taken by most of the bishops and clergy in favour of Dom Miguel, it was decreed in 1833 that to the government alone appertained the power of nominating to archbishoprics, bishoprics, priories, canonries, parishes and to every other species of ecclesiastical office. Notwithstanding all efforts to the contrary, the Crown exercises such a right till the present time; and, in consequence of this, no man need hope for promotion unless he has satisfied a ministry, most of the members and officials of which are freemasons and enemies of the Catholic Church. When parishes become vacant the appointment is made either by *concursum* or by the Minister of Worship after due examination of the testimonials of the different candidates. If a *concursum* is decided upon the examination is conducted by synodal examiners in the name of the bishop, and the bishop forwards the result of the examination to the Minister of Worship, who makes the appointment. In these circumstances the wonder is, not that the Catholic religion has suffered much in Portugal, but rather that it has continued to exist. By the law of 1856 every bishop, before taking possession of his see, must swear allegiance, not alone to the king and constitution, but to the code of civil laws in vigour in the country.

The confiscation of the ecclesiastical property, and the suppression of the tithes and other sources of revenue (1832), by means of which the ecclesiastical institutions were supported, led to the destruction of the seminaries in Portugal. The next year a decree was issued permitting the re-opening of a certain number of seminaries, but on account of the civil war then raging nothing was done till 1845. By the suppression and expulsion of the religious orders, and by the destruction of the seminaries, the number of clergy was so reduced that the people were left without the services of priests. In 1845, a law was passed regulating the establishment of seminaries for the education of the clergy. But the government reserved to itself control over the appointment of professors, the subjects to be studied, and the selection of the text-books. The students in such seminaries were obliged to make their preliminary studies at the state lyceums. In 1850, it was ordered that no student be admitted into the theological classes until he had received a certificate from one of the lyceums that he had read a satisfactory course in arts subjects. In 1883, when negotiations were going on with the Holy See about a new division of the Portuguese dioceses, the bishops protested against the undue influence of the government in the training of the clergy, and as a result the seminaries were placed under the authority of the bishops, but the preliminary studies at the state lyceums were still obligatory. Each of the Portuguese dioceses has a seminary. Besides the seminaries, there exists a theological faculty in the University of Coimbra, where many of the abler students pursue a higher course of studies, and since 1900 a Portuguese college has been founded in Rome. In recent years serious efforts have been made to re-organise the theological studies in the seminaries of Portugal, and to introduce into them text-books more adapted to modern requirements.

In 1848, a new arrangement of the dioceses of Portugal was agreed upon between Pius IX. and Maria II. But

this decision was not carried into effect. By a decree issued in 1849 the Crown reserved to itself the right of arranging the number and boundaries of the dioceses in Portugal and in the colonies. Negotiations were opened up on this subject in 1882, and in 1883, a new division took place, according to which the number of dioceses was considerably reduced. The bishops and members of the chapter receive a very limited salary from the state, and the seminaries are also supported out of the public funds. But the clergy generally receive financial aid from the ecclesiastical revenues and the local authorities. The reduction of the revenues paid to the bishops and clergy has had the effect of stopping the competition amongst the sons of the nobility for these positions; and, as a result, the ranks of the higher clergy have been considerably purified, and a corresponding improvement has taken place among the people. Religious confraternities are not allowed, except with the approval of the king, and unless they are prepared to comply with the civil code of 1886, according to which the statutes, list of members, income and expenditure of such bodies are submitted to the inspection of the civil authorities.

By the law of 1845 the Church was deprived of all voice in education, primary, secondary, or university. The state arrogated to itself full control of the schools, but the school teachers in primary schools were obliged to instruct the children in the catechism. In that subject, however, as in all the others, they were responsible, not to the ecclesiastical authorities, but to the government. In the secondary schools or lyceums the ecclesiastical authorities have no control. But full permission is given to open private schools, both primary and secondary. In recent years large numbers of such private schools have been established. For university education there exists the University of Coimbra, which was one of the great strongholds of Portuguese freemasonry. The theological faculty of the university consists of

about eight professors, and the number of students in attendance at their lectures averages about fifty. In the civil code of 1867 it was proposed to make civil marriage compulsory, but the proposal roused such a storm of opposition that its authors were obliged to withdraw it. It was then agreed that the marriages of Catholics should have no validity in the eyes of the law unless celebrated in accordance with the laws of the Church. Divorce is not permitted to Catholics or non-Catholics resident in Portugal, though a legal separation may be obtained for sufficient cause.

During the latter part of the reign of Leo XIII. the condition of the Portuguese Church was considerably improved. In 1886, owing to the personal representations of the Pope, the king, Louis I., consented to forego the rights that he claimed over the ecclesiastical appointments in the old Portuguese province of India, and the Pope was enabled to establish the hierarchy in India upon a proper footing. In the same year Leo XIII. addressed an Encyclical to the bishops of Portugal, in which he exhorted them to separate religion from purely political issues, to work for a union of all the Catholic forces in defence of religion, and to take measures for the establishment of newspapers devoted to the support of Catholic interests. The attempts made to propagate Socialism amongst the working classes, especially since 1871, forced the Catholics to turn their attention to social problems. In 1895 a great Catholic congress was held in Lisbon, which was attended by representatives from all parts of Portugal. Measures were taken to establish a Catholic organisation, and to formulate a programme of social reforms, but the old divisions were too strong for much practical work to be done.* In 1902, the Pope addressed a letter to the patriarch of Lisbon in defence of the religious orders which were being persecuted. He again urged upon the Catholics of Portugal the necessity for union, and in response to his appeal another con-

* Veggian, *op. cit.*, Chap. XX.

gress was held. The meeting was divided into parties, one of which desired the establishment of a purely Catholic organisation; the other defended the existence of the present political parties on condition that on Catholic questions politicians of all shades of opinion would unite; and in the end a compromise was effected. These events are a sign that some of the Catholics in Portugal are awakening to a sense of their duty, and afford some hope that a better time is coming for Catholic interests in Portugal.

CHAPTER XVI

THE CHURCH IN POLAND, RUSSIA AND THE BALKAN PROVINCES

(a) POLAND AND RUSSIA

Pierling, *La Russie et le Saint Siège*, 4 vols., Paris, 1896-1907. Lescoeur, *L'Église Catholique en Pologne sous le Gouvernement Russe, 1772-1875*, Paris, 1876. Idem., *L'Église Catholique et le Gouvernement Russe*, Paris, 1903. Krynicki, *Dzieje Kościoła Powszechnego*. Włocławek, 1908, Sect. 191, 205. Palmieri, *La Chiesa Russa*, Florence, 1908. Wilbois, *L'Avenir de l'Église Russe*, Paris, 1907.

THE concordat* concluded between Pius IX. and Russia brought little peace to the Catholics in Poland or the Uniates of the Russian Empire. The officials of the government continued to act as if no concordat had been concluded, and, owing to the prohibition of free communications with the Holy See, the Pope could do little to protect Catholics. Nicholas I. died in 1855, and was succeeded by Alexander II. (1855-1881). During the earlier years of his reign the persecution abated owing to the anxiety of Russia to secure the support of all her subjects during the Crimean war. Various reforms in administration were made, but beyond this the Emperor was not prepared to go.

In Poland itself the population was divided into two classes, the Reds, or revolutionary party, who were determined to force Russia to restore the independent constitution, and the Conservatives, who relied upon peaceful methods, and who were anxious to utilise the Russian

* Nussi, *Conventiones XXXVI.*

concessions without abandoning their claims for national autonomy. The Conservative party had been in the ascendency since 1849, but the establishment of a united Italy, and the concessions that had been forced from Austria by Hungary, gave a new impulse to the national movement in Poland in 1860. The people were no longer to be satisfied with mere administrative reforms. They must have an independent Poland, or else Russia should be obliged to fight for the maintenance of her authority. In 1860, the crowds began to assemble in the churches, and to chant the patriotic national hymns of Poland. Various encounters took place between themselves and the Russian soldiers. The anniversaries of their battles were celebrated by enormous processions, and on the anniversary of the death of Kosciusko in 1861, though the churches of Warsaw were surrounded by troops, the inhabitants flocked to them in thousands. There they sang the hymns that had been forbidden, and were ordered by the officers to desist. They refused to leave the churches, but the soldiers forced their way inside the sacred buildings, drove out the people, and arrested the prominent leaders. The archbishop of Warsaw protested against such violence, and ordered the churches to be closed. He was arrested, tried by courtmartial, and transported to Siberia. For months the churches remained closed, the people abandoned the theatres and places of amusement, and the whole city was in mourning.

Alexander II. sent his brother, the Grand Duke Constantine, as Viceroy of Poland, and various concessions were made in order to appease the feelings of the Poles. But the concessions had come too late to prevent the insurrection. A secret committee in Poland working in conjunction with a revolutionary committee in Paris, was preparing an armed resistance. Attempts were made to assassinate the Grand Duke and his ministers without success. In consequence of the increasing difficulties the government determined to call out the recruits. On the night of the 15th January, 1863, the soldiers broke

into the houses and tried to seize those marked out for military service. But the revolutionary committee had been beforehand. Most of the recruits had fled into the woods, others escaped from the soldiers, and the insurrection began. The struggle was hopeless from the beginning, but the Polish provisional government offered a desperate resistance to the overwhelming forces of the Russians. For two months the war went on, but in March, 1863, the remnants of the Polish forces, feeling themselves completely outnumbered, fled across the frontiers to Austrian territory. Then began a period of shocking barbarity. The Russian courtmartial showed no mercy to priest or layman. So barbarous was the treatment meted out to the unfortunate people that the conscience of Europe was aroused, and France, Austria and England addressed a joint note to Russia demanding amnesty and reform (1863).^{*} But Russia, knowing well that no serious effort would be made to enforce these demands, and relying upon the support of Prussia, rejected all outside interference, and continued her policy of brutal repression. If the Poles could not be exterminated they must be transformed into Russians.

Hence, the Russian language was ordered to be used in Warsaw University and in the schools of Poland, not alone in the ordinary classes but also in the religious instruction. The bank of Poland was suppressed, the railway officials were drafted into Poland from Russia, the public announcements were made in Russian, and everything that could remind the people of their distinctive nationality was carefully removed. The Catholic Church suffered in an especial manner, as the supposed fomentor and approver of the Polish movement. The seminaries were placed under the control of the secular authorities, who prescribed the course of studies in the Russian language and literature, and many of the clergy were arrested and sent into Siberia, where they were treated as ordinary criminals. Those who remained were

^{*} *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. XI., p. 434.

placed under the supervision of the police. The monasteries were in great part suppressed, not alone in Poland but in other parts of Russia, and with the suppression of the monasteries their flourishing schools were either closed or handed over to Russian lay teachers. Priests were admitted into the state establishments to give religious instruction, but a Russian official was present to control their instruction. Pius IX. was not an unmoved spectator of events in Poland and Russia. Though himself in serious trouble with Piedmont, he protested against the persecution carried on by Russia, and when, at the New Year's levee in 1866, the Russian representative dared to answer his remonstrances by blaming the Pope for supporting the Polish revolutionaries, Pius IX. abruptly ordered him from his presence. The Russian embassy to the Vatican was immediately recalled, and in December, 1866, an imperial ukase was issued abrogating all the conventions between the Holy See and Russia.

From that time the lot of the Catholics in the Polish provinces and of the Uniates in Russia, was exceedingly hard. The Academy of St. Petersburg, an ecclesiastical commission established in 1801, was entrusted with full control over the Catholic Church. It exercised practically the same authority over the Church in these territories as the Pope exercised in other parts of Europe, and it was only through this council that any communication could be held with the Holy See by bishops or clergy. The seminaries in Poland and in Russia, and the Catholic seminary of St. Petersburg, were taken from the control of the bishops and placed under schismatical officials. By an imperial decree the unfortunate Uniates were declared to be members of the Orthodox Russian Church. Every effort was made to induce their priests to conform, and those who refused were transported to make room for the schismatical clergy. In 1875, it was officially announced that 45 parishes had abjured the union with Rome and joined the Russian Church, but the reports of the British ambassador threw some light on the

methods of barbarism adopted to secure their conversion, and on the value attached by the people to their so-called recantation.

Pius IX. continued to protest against such violence, and some slight concessions were made to his demands in 1875. In 1877, when the war between Turkey and Russia made it useful for Russia to conciliate the Catholics, the Russian ambassador sketched a plan for the settlement of all differences between the Vatican and the Empire. The Secretary of State, Cardinal Simeoni, presented a statement of grievances and demands to the Russian representative in July, 1877. This should have been forwarded in due course to St. Petersburg, but, in disregard of all diplomatic courtesy, it was returned to the Cardinal Secretary in August. Pius IX. was obliged to dismiss summarily the Russian envoy.

On the accession of Leo XIII. the new Pope immediately addressed a letter to the Czar, announcing his elevation to the Chair of St. Peter, and entreating the Czar to have compassion on the sufferings of his Catholic subjects. But the Pope's letter produced no change in the attitude of Alexander II. Negotiations were, however, opened with Rome in 1880, and an agreement was arrived at on certain points, but the assassination of the Czar delayed a definite settlement. The new Czar, Alexander III. (1881-1894), despatched an agent to Rome to announce his elevation to the throne, and the negotiations were resumed. In December, 1882, a convention* was agreed upon between the Pope and Alexander III., according to which the vacant bishoprics in Poland and Russia were to be filled, and the seminaries were to be restored to some extent, at least, to the control of the bishops. Henceforth, the bishop was to appoint and dismiss the professors, but only in conjunction with the government, and the course of studies was subject to the bishop, on condition, however, that the teaching of the Russian language and literature should be under the

* *Conventiones de Rebus Eccles. Initae sub Pontif. Leonis XIII.*, Rome, 1893, pp. 26-30.

supervision of the civil authorities. The Catholic seminary in St. Petersburg was to be placed under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Mohilew, who was to exercise the same authority over it as was allowed to the bishops over the diocesan seminaries. The most galling of the restrictions imposed upon the Polish clergy by the police regulations were to be withdrawn. The unfortunate bishop of Warsaw, Felinski, who had been sent into Siberia in 1863, was allowed to return, and in March, 1883, the vacant sees in Poland and Russia were filled.

The agreement was not always observed by the Russian officials. In 1885, the bishop of Wilna, who censured some of his clergy without having got the permission of the government, was invited to St. Petersburg, and sent into exile, but owing to the intervention of the Pope he was allowed to leave the Empire, and a successor was appointed to the vacant see of Wilna. In 1885, further negotiations were opened between the Holy See and Russia in regard to the language to be used in the non-liturgical services and in religious instruction. Pius IX., in 1877, had forbidden the use of any language except Polish in such services wherever the Polish language had been used for a considerable time. In the negotiations in 1882 Leo XIII. had refused to make any change in the instructions of his predecessor, and once more, in 1888, the Pope refused to sanction the Russian proposals. Nor would he consent to accept the suggestions that the children of mixed marriages should be reared in the Orthodox Faith (1889).*

The Russian alliance with France, and the increasing influence of Austria in the Balkan provinces, made it still more necessary for the new Emperor, Nicholas II., to preserve good relations with the Papacy. The Poles, on the other hand, feared that the Holy See might neglect their interests in order to secure the support of Russia, and, hence, in 1894, Leo XIII. addressed a letter to the Polish nation, in which he recalled all that Poland had done for the Church, and recounted his own efforts to

* T'Serclaes, *Le Pape Léon XIII.*, Vol. I., Chap. XXIII.

secure an amelioration of their condition. He besought them to remain united with their bishops, and to cease their efforts to force the Uniates and others to accept the Latin rite. Nicholas II. was disposed to make certain concessions to the Poles and the Catholics, but his efforts were often defeated by hostile officials. In 1898, he agreed to recognise the Uniates as belonging to the Catholic Church, but only on condition that they should renounce the Greek rite, and, besides, he permitted certain religious orders to reside in Poland. The following year he allowed priests to visit Rome, and authorised the erection of a Catholic Church in St. Petersburg.

But the idea of granting full liberty to the Catholic Church was rejected as an impossible concession till the Russian defeats in the war with Japan, and the threatened dissolution of the Empire made it necessary to introduce radical reforms. In 1905, an imperial ukase was issued granting liberty of worship, and immediately whole villages of the "converted" Uniates passed over to Rome. In a few months close on 400,000 had left the Orthodox Church. Since that date the Catholic Church has made considerable progress in Russia. In Lithuania and White Russia the bishop of Wilna has organised a political association in defence of Catholic interests, and has formulated a programme demanding free communications with the Holy See, control of the churches and the seminaries by the bishop, and the restitution of the ecclesiastical property. The question of language has, however, again become critical. The Poles, relying upon the Papal decree of 1877, insist upon the use of the Polish language in non-liturgical services, and in the religious instruction even in districts where they are in a minority. The Uniates, Lithuanians and others bitterly object to this, and appealed to the Holy See.* In 1906, Pius X. issued a new decree allowing the use of other languages wherever a large portion of the people are unacquainted with Polish.

* Palmieri, *La Chiesa Russa*, Chap. XI., pp. 713-734.

According to the returns of 1905 the total number of Catholics in the Russian Empire, including Poland, was 11,467,994. For the government of this Catholic population seven bishoprics are established in the Polish provinces, and six in Russia proper. The affairs of the Church are controlled by a commission in St. Petersburg, and besides the diocesan seminaries, a seminary for the education of Catholic priests exists in the Russian capital.

(b) THE BALKAN PROVINCES

Louvet, *Les Missions Catholiques au XIX^e Siècle*, Lille, 1898, pp. 75-99.
Neher, *Kirchlich-Statistische Tabellen über die Ganze Katholische Welt*, Regensburg, 1895. Werner, *Orbis Terrarum Catholicus*, Freiburg, p. 549.

TURKEY IN EUROPE.—The work of the Church in the Balkan provinces has been carried on under great difficulties during the nineteenth century. Islamism, as represented by Turkey, the schismatical Russian Church supported by the Czar, and the Protestant missionaries, maintained in great measure by English money, have united in opposing the progress of Catholicity. Political considerations, too, have played a great part in determining religious events in the East; and, as in recent years, France, the protector of the Eastern missions, was in alliance with Russia against Austria, very little opposition to the spread of Russian influence could be hoped for in that quarter.

It must be admitted that with the exception of popular outbursts (1821, 1830, 1860, 1877, 1897), caused very often by political considerations, the Sultans have shown themselves very liberal in their treatment of the Catholic Church. But the Sultans have been unable to restrain the officials from adopting a hostile attitude in many places where the old spirit of fanaticism is still strong. Religious orders and congregations of men and women have been allowed to settle down in all parts of the

kingdom, and to conduct freely their educational and charitable institutions. The societies principally represented are the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Jesuits, the Lazarists, the Augustinians, the Brothers of the Christian Schools, and the Sisters of Charity. There resides at Constantinople a bishop for the Catholics of the Latin Rite, with the title of vicar patriarch. There is, besides, a bishop at Constantinople for the United Greeks, and for the Bulgarians of the Greek rite an archiepiscopal administrator resides at Jerusalem since 1893, with two vicars apostolic, one for Thrace, the other for Macedonia (1893). Besides, for the Bulgarians of the Latin rite in the Turkish provinces a vicariate apostolic was created in 1841, and confided to the Capuchins.

In the province of Epirus the metropolitan see of Durazzo has been left without any of its former suffragan sees owing to the Mussulman invasion. The archbishop is assisted by communities of Franciscans. In Albania there is an archbishopric at Scutari, with three suffragan sees, Alesio, Pulati, Sappa, and an exempt Benedictine abbey. The total number of Catholics in these provinces amounts to about 300,000.

MONTENEGRO.—The independence of Montenegro was formally recognised by Turkey, and guaranteed by the great powers in the *Treaty of Berlin* (1878). Prince Nicholas (1860) opened negotiations with Rome, and in 1886 a concordat * was agreed to between the Holy See and Montenegro. The see of Antivari was separated from Scutari, and erected into an archbishopric. Later on (1888), the use of the Slav language for liturgical service was recognised in Montenegro. The total population of the principality amounts to 230,000, most of whom belong to the Orthodox Church, the Catholics numbering only about 10,000. The archbishop of Antivari is *ex-officio* a member of the Skupshtina, and full liberty is given to the Catholic Church.

SERVIA.—The inhabitants of Servia made a long

* *Conventiones initae sub Pontif Leonis XIII.*, Rome, 1893, pp. 71-5.

struggle against Turkish rule till finally the independence of their kingdom was recognised by the powers in the *Treaty of Berlin* (1878). The total population in 1904 was 2,676,989, of whom 10,423 were returned as Catholics. The Greek Orthodox religion is the established one. For the government of the Catholic Church and administration there exists a bishopric at Belgrade.

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA.—By the *Treaty of Berlin*, Bosnia and Herzegovina, though left under the nominal suzerainty of the Sultan, were handed to Austrian administration. Since that time they have been formally taken over by Austria, and an agreement was arrived at by which Turkey resigned all claims over these provinces (1909). After the Austrian occupation in 1878 the Pope, at the request of the Emperor, re-established the hierarchy in these provinces (1881).^{*} An archiepiscopal see and three suffragan sees were erected. The vast majority of the inhabitants belong to the Orthodox Church or to the Mohammedan body, but, owing to the assistance and encouragement given by Austria to the Catholic missionaries, considerable progress has been made during the last thirty years. The entire population in 1905 was 1,568,092, of whom 548,632 were Mohammedans, 673,246 Greek Orthodox, and 334,142 Catholics. The Catholic population is comparatively small, but it is well to remember that in 1800 it was only 85,000. The organisation of the Church in these provinces is very complete. Besides the secular clergy a large number of communities of religious congregations are settled there and do good work, especially in the schools. In the government schools the clergy are allowed to give religious instruction. For the education of the ecclesiastical students both preparatory and theological seminaries have been provided.

BULGARIA.—By the *Treaty of Berlin* Bulgaria was created an autonomous principality under the suzerainty of the Sultan. In 1909, Prince Ferdinand declared the absolute independence of the country, and assumed the

^{*} *Conventiones*, pp. 23-26.

title of Czar. The Bulgarians of the Latin rite were so persecuted by the Turks and by the schismatical Greeks that large numbers of them emigrated. In 1781, Pius VI. requested the Passionists to undertake the care of the Bulgarian missions. For a long time the Catholic religion was barely tolerated, but after 1820 a better era set in for the missionaries. The Encyclical of Leo XIII., *Grande Munus*, addressed to the Slavs in 1880, and the great Slav pilgrimage to Rome in 1881, created a sensation in the Balkan provinces.* Russia grew alarmed lest a Slav Catholic movement should be created under the protection of Austria, and was especially alarmed lest Bulgaria should pass over to Rome. This danger became greater when, in 1887, on the abdication of Prince Alexander, Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg was elected ruler of Bulgaria. The Prince was a Catholic, and married a Catholic lady, the daughter of Robert, Duke of Parma. At first the government of Bulgaria seemed inclined to shake off the Russian yoke, but after the assassination of Stambouloff, Russian influence again became predominant, and in accordance with the terms of the constitution it was demanded that Prince Ferdinand should allow his son, Prince Boris, to be reared in the Orthodox faith.

At the opening of the Chambers in 1895 Prince Ferdinand announced that, though he was unalterably attached to the religion of his forefathers, he would make the sacrifice which the country demanded, and would allow his heir to be received into the Church of the nation. Through the nuncio at Vienna the prince opened negotiations to secure the approval of Rome for such a step, but naturally enough he found no support. Undaunted by the stern *non possumus* of the Cardinal Secretary of State, Prince Ferdinand dared to go to Rome personally to plead his cause in the presence of the Pope, (1896), but, according to his own account, the interview was a painful one for both parties. Notwithstanding all remonstrances, Ferdinand persisted in his resolution, and

* T'Serclaes, *Léon XIII.*, I., Chap. XIII.

in February, 1896, the young prince was solemnly received into the Greek schismatical Church.* This act of apostasy threw Bulgaria once more into the arms of Russia, and destroyed all hopes of an immediate union with Rome. The total population of Bulgaria in 1905 was 4,035,625, of whom about 30,000 were Catholics. The remainder belonged to the Greek Church or to Mohammedanism.

ROUMANIA.—In 1866, the present ruler of Roumania, Carol I., was elected, and in 1878 the independence of Roumania was recognised by the powers. By the influence of the Turks the Catholic religion had been nearly blotted out in Roumania, though the Franciscans, who had gone there in the thirteenth century, succeeded in retaining a few of their missions. Pius VI. encouraged the Passionists to settle in these provinces. In 1883, owing to the remarkable progress that had been made, Leo XIII. re-established the hierarchy in Roumania, by erecting a metropolitan see at Bucharest, with one suffragan see, that of Jassy. The total population of Roumania in 1906 was about six and a half millions, five and a half millions of whom belong to the Greek schismatical Church. The Catholics in 1890 were only 108,000, but even that figure shows a considerable increase since 1850. The government of Roumania is favourable to the Catholics, and full permission is given to the religious congregations to settle in the country, and to conduct their educational and charitable institutions.

GREECE.—In 1820, the Greeks rose in rebellion against the Turks, and after a heroic struggle succeeded in establishing the independence of their nation. In the official act, by which the European powers recognised the new kingdom of Greece, a clause was inserted guaranteeing liberty of worship (1830). But the national spirit of Greece is very much opposed to Western Catholicity, and very little progress has been made by the Catholic missionaries. In 1875, at the request of the king, Pius

* T'Serclaes, *op. cit.*, III., Chap. XLIX.

IX. established the archbishopric of Athens, under the jurisdiction of which there were 18,000 Catholics in 1890. Flourishing primary schools exist in the Catholic parishes, and secondary schools are conducted by the religious congregations. In the Ionian Islands there is a metropolitan see at Corfu, and two suffragan sees, Zante and Cefalonia, the combined Catholic population of which amounts to about 5,000.

In the islands of the archipelago there is one archbishopric, Naxos, and four suffragan sees, Santorin, Scio, Syra, Tinos, and Mycone. The total Catholic population of these islands in 1890 was 13,150. In the island of Crete there is one bishopric, Candia, with about 600 Catholics.

CHAPTER XVII

THE CHURCH IN NORTHERN EUROPE

(a) DENMARK

Karup, *Geschichte der Kath. Kirche in Dänemark*, Münster, 1863.
Crouzil, *Le Catholicisme dans les pays Scandinaves*, Vol. I., *En Danemark et en Islande*, Paris, 1902.

THE Catholic religion was entirely crushed in Denmark in the sixteenth century, and very stringent laws were made against priests who attempted to settle down in the country. It was only with difficulty that the ambassador of France was permitted to have a chapel for the use of the French Catholics resident in Copenhagen. These laws were maintained practically in full force till 1849, when the king was obliged to grant a liberal constitution. The constitution guaranteed liberty of worship to every citizen, and freed those belonging to a recognised religious body other than the Lutheran Church, from the payment of taxes imposed for the support of the national church. In addition to this, nobody should be deprived of the full enjoyment of his civil or political rights on account of his religious opinions.

Very few Catholic families were to be found in Denmark at that period, but soon two German priests arrived in the country, and the number of Catholics began to increase. Members of the Society of Jesus did excellent work in different parts of the country, and their college at Ordrup afforded an opportunity to the Catholic boys of procuring a good secondary education. The Sisters of St. Joseph of Chambéry volunteered to take charge of a

hospital and the direction of schools, The number of Catholics at present in Denmark is about 9,000, most of whom are converts from Lutheranism. These are ministered to by about forty priests, regular and secular, most of whom are Germans. The religious congregations represented in the Danish mission are the Jesuits, the Redemptorists, and the Franciscans; while the Brothers of Camillus of Lisle, the Sisters of St. Joseph of Chambéry, of St. Elizabeth, and of Christian Charity, have foundations in different parts of the country. A prefect apostolic was appointed for Denmark in 1869, and in 1892, Leo XIII. erected a vicariate apostolic, and appointed a bishop, the first who resided in Copenhagen since 1536.

The bishop and clergy are supported partly by contributions from the Propagation of the Faith, the St. Boniface Society, or from some similar association, and partly by the offerings of the people. The property of the Church in Denmark is held by a legally established corporation, consisting of the bishop, a priest, and a layman nominated by the bishop. This body can administer the Church property, and accept donations or legacies for religious or charitable purposes. The Catholics have their own primary schools, conducted for the most part by the Marist brothers, or the Sisters belonging to some religious congregation. Though Protestants are forbidden by law to send their children to Catholic schools, yet the law is very often neglected or evaded by registering their children as Catholics. Close on two thousand children attend the Catholic schools. The Jesuits conduct two secondary schools, one at Copenhagen, and another at Ordrup, while a third institution of a similar kind is conducted by a secular priest. The Sisters of St. Joseph have three higher schools for girls. Two orphanages, one for boys, and one for girls, have also been established, while in Copenhagen, and in different cities through the country, the hospitals are in charge of the Catholic Sisters, whose services are very highly appreciated both by the medical men and by the people.

The Catholic population is splendidly organised owing to the number of charitable and religious confraternities. Two newspapers, one of which is devoted almost entirely to the discussion of social problems, have been established to safeguard Catholic interests, and a fair beginning has been made in the work of creating a Catholic literature in Danish. It must be admitted that the people of Denmark show no bigotry against the Catholic Church, that they are anxious to learn its doctrines, and that, if one may judge by the number of conversions in recent years, the Catholic mission in Denmark is likely to obtain a fair measure of success.

In Iceland the Catholic religion was practically eradicated during the Reformation period. But in 1850 two French priests landed on the island to minister to the wants of the French fishermen who settled there, or who visited the ports during the fishing season. When these left the island there was no missionary to take their place, but in 1896 the vicar apostolic of Denmark sent, at the request of the Pope, two priests to the island. The Sisters of St. Joseph sent some of their number to take care of the sick, and to open a school.

(b) NORWAY AND SWEDEN

Adelsward, *La Liberté de Conscience en Suède*, 1862. Crouzil, *Le Catholicisme dans les pays Scandinaves*, II. ; *Norvège et Suède*, Paris, 1902. Fallize, *Une Tournée Pastorale en Norvège*, Lyon, 1895. Strindberg, *Les Relations de la France avec la Suède jusqu'à nos Jours*, Paris, 1901.

The laws of Norway were very severe against those who did not belong to the state religion, which is Lutheran. Dissenters and Catholics were treated alike, and the usual penalty for such offences was banishment from the country. But the Dissenters gradually increased in numbers, especially after 1814, when Norway was separated from Denmark, and they insisted upon a more tolerant legislation. In 1839, the Storting forced the king to abolish the law prohibiting religious

assemblies of dissenters; and in 1845, though the Lutheran Church was retained as the state church, freedom was granted to dissenting bodies to open religious establishments. The Catholics availed themselves of this law to erect churches in Christiania and in other cities of the kingdom. In 1891, a new act was passed, granting the Catholics full liberty to perform their religious services, and to organise their scattered communities. To enjoy the privileges of the law the community was obliged to notify to the civil authorities the name of the clergyman who was to be in charge; and the government recognised the clergyman as the registrar for the births, marriages and deaths of members of his community. Catholics were formerly excluded from many offices under the state, but the law of 1894 removed most of these restrictions.

The Catholics are not obliged to pay the personal tax levied for the support of the Lutheran religion, but the tithes upon land are paid for the present by all citizens. The local authorities may exempt them from taxes to be levied for the maintenance of the schools in all districts where a sufficiently equipped Catholic school exists. Religious orders are allowed to settle in Norway, and to possess property.

In 1887, a prefect apostolic was appointed for Norway, and in 1892, the prefect apostolic, Mgr. Fallize, was appointed vicar apostolic, and consecrated bishop. He is assisted by a staff of about twenty-five priests, some of whom are native Norwegians. The bishop is treated by the civil authorities with the same respect as is shown to the bishops of the state church, and all his representations to the Chambers or to the king receive the greatest attention. Large numbers of Sisters are in charge of the Catholic schools, and of many of the public hospitals. In 1900, the total number of Catholics in Norway was about two thousand. As in Denmark, the Church is supported by donations from Catholic missionary societies, and by the offerings of the people. The parishes may possess property, build churches, schools and presby-

teries without any permission from the civil authorities, and the law recognises the vicar apostolic as the supreme administrator of the ecclesiastical property. Large numbers of hospitals have been built by the Sisters at the request of the medical councils. These are generally exempted from taxation, and, in some cases receive financial assistance from the state. With all classes of the citizens the Sisters are most popular, and their influence in spreading Catholicity is of supreme importance. The Catholics are allowed to have their own separate cemeteries, and, at the request of the bishop, the Storting abolished the law of 1894, according to which children were obliged to cremate the bodies of their parents if the latter so requested before their death.

Schools are attached to nearly all the Catholic missions. These are subject to the control of the bishop, but may be called upon by the civil authorities to admit extern examiners to test the proficiency of the teachers and pupils. There are several secondary schools for the higher education of girls, but no similar provision has been made for the boys. No ecclesiastical seminary has been established for the present in Norway. Those who volunteer for the Norwegian mission are educated in Germany, France or Belgium, and afterwards, if foreigners, spend some time in the bishop's house, mastering the language and customs of the country. Numerous associations and confraternities have been organised in order to keep the Catholics thoroughly united, and a newspaper is being published in defence of Catholic interests. The laws of Norway are most favourable to the progress of Catholicity, and the people are most friendly in their attitude towards the Catholic portion of the population. Civil functionaries frequently attend the Catholic religious functions; processions of the Blessed Eucharist pass freely through the streets of the capital; the Sisters of St. Joseph wear their religious habit, and are received everywhere with the greatest respect. In the Lutheran Church itself a movement, akin to the Oxford movement in England, has been gradually

developing. One of the greatest writers of the party was Dr. Krogh-Tonning, a Lutheran pastor in Christiania. By some people he has been referred to as the Newman of Norway. His theological studies on the unity of the Church, and the nature of the change that took place at the Reformation, led him to the conclusion that the Catholic Church was the only legitimate representative of the Apostolic Church. In February, 1900, he bade adieu to the parishioners amongst whom he had laboured for fifteen years, and retired to a place of retreat, where, at the end of six months, he was received into the Catholic Church. His example has had a salutary effect upon his countrymen.

SWEDEN.—The Catholic religion was driven out of Sweden by fraud and violence, and severe penalties, imprisonments or banishment were enacted against anybody who would attempt to revive it. Except at the French embassy at Stockholm, no priest was permitted to reside, nor was the celebration of Mass allowed, except in the chapel of the embassy. The laws against Catholics and Dissenters were retained in force till late in the nineteenth century. In 1854, a convert from Lutheranism was non-suited on account of his religion in a case brought by him to recover the property of his deceased brother, and in 1858, five women, who had become Catholics, were condemned to exile, together with the loss of their property and civil rights. Dissenters were treated with equal cruelty. But such persecution roused the attention of both Catholic and Protestant writers. A Protestant congress, held in Paris in 1855, protested against the Swedish intolerance, as did also the Protestants of Holland in 1857. The king, Oscar I., was anxious to remove such penal legislation, and he was supported by the majority of the people, but the clergy and the higher classes prevented any change till 1860, when the penalties against those abandoning the state church were abolished; dissenting communities were permitted to build churches, erect schools and to acquire separate cemeteries, but severe penalties were still main-

tained against those who would preach publicly doctrines contrary to the pure gospel truth.

In 1870, a further law was passed, opening most of the offices of state to Dissenters, and in 1873, the legislation which regulates at present the position of the Catholics and Dissenters, was formulated. According to this law Christians who do not belong to the state religion are obliged to get the permission of the king before forming themselves into a religious community. Minors are not permitted to abandon the Lutheran Church, but adults may do so after having notified their pastor. Religious communities are allowed to acquire property other than churches and schools, but only with the permission of the king. Religious congregations of men or women are absolutely forbidden to settle in Sweden, an exception, however, being made in favour of the Sisters who are devoted to the care of the sick. A vicariate apostolic has been created at Stockholm for the government of the missions in Sweden. The number of Catholics is comparatively small, and divided into scattered communities. Schools are attached to each mission, and are largely frequented by Protestant as well as Catholic children. Three hospitals have been founded for the care of the sick, and societies have been established to promote the closer union of the Catholic body. A beginning has been made in the publication of Catholic books in the Swedish language.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE PAPACY

(a) PIUS IX. AND ITALY

Pougeois, *Histoire de Pie IX. son Pontificat et son Siècle*, 6 vols., Paris, 1877-86. Villefranche, *Pie IX., sa Vie, son Histoire, son Siècle*, 8^e ed., Paris, 1878. Maguire, *Pius IX. and His Times*, 2nd ed., Dublin, 1878. Ballerini, *Les premières pages du Pontificat du Pape Pie IX.*, Rome 1909. Nielsen, *History of the Papacy in the Nineteenth Century*, 2 vols., London, 1906. Cesare, *Roma e lo stato del Pape dal ritorno di Pio IX.*, 2 vols., Rome, 1907 (Eng. tr.). *Storia di Vittorio Emanuele II. et del suo Regno*, 3 vols., Rome, 1893. Kraus, *Cavour, Die Erhebung Italiens im XIX. Jahrhundert*, Mayence, 1902. O'Clery, *The Making of Italy*, London, 1892.

THE position of affairs in Italy, and especially in the Papal States during the latter years of Gregory XVI., was particularly critical. Though the rebellion planned by Mazzini and the Young Italy Party in 1842 had been repressed, it was evident to all that the old regime of government in the states could not long continue unchanged, and that serious reforms must be undertaken. Gregory XVI., on account of his age and infirmity, felt himself unfit for such a task, but he realised the dangers that surrounded the Holy See, and was anxious that all formalities should be dispensed with lest a revolution might break out before a successor could be appointed.

He died on the 1st June, 1846, and on the 14th June forty-nine cardinals assembled at the Quirinal palace for the conclave. Austria and France were deeply interested in the election, but their very rivalry prevented them from interfering with the freedom of the cardinals.

The latter were divided into two parties, one, conservative, in favour of maintaining the unyielding attitude of Gregory XVI., the other, liberal, anxious for prudent and moderate reforms. Cardinal Lambruschini was the candidate of the conservative section, while Cardinal Mastai received the support of the liberal element. On the 16th June he received thirty-four out of the forty-nine votes, and was proclaimed Pope under the title of Pius IX.

Cardinal Mastai-Ferretti was born at Sinigaglia on the 13th May, 1792. From his earliest years he was inclined to become a priest, but on account of ill-health an ecclesiastical career seemed to be closed against him. Later on the sickness disappeared, and he was ordained priest in 1819. In 1823, he accompanied Mgr. Muzzi on a diplomatic mission to Chili, in 1825 he was appointed a canon of St. Peter's, in 1827 archbishop of Spoleto, in 1832 he was transferred to Imola, and in 1840 he was created a cardinal. He was regarded as a liberal, and was supposed to favour the views of the federal party in Italy. Personally, he was a man of conciliating manners, of irreproachable character, beloved by all with whom he came in contact, and seemed to have been marked out by Providence to guide the destinies of the Church at a most critical period. All parties, liberals, conservatives, Austrians and French, were pleased with his election, but there were some who feared that his kindness of heart might be easily abused by the clever and designing opponents of the Papal sovereignty.

Pius IX. appointed a commission of cardinals to arrange for reforms in the government and administration of the Papal States. He was received with acclamations whenever he appeared on the streets in Rome, and addresses for reform poured in upon him from all parts of the Papal States. In July he granted an amnesty to all political exiles and prisoners. This increased the popularity of the new Pope, but wise men expressed their anxiety about the

results of such a step. The exiles returned, and the prisoners were liberated, but only to further the revolutionary policy on account of which they had been punished. Every little concession made by the Pope was marked by a great popular manifestation of rejoicing, but in most cases these demonstrations were organised or encouraged by the party of Mazzini in order to stir up the people, to teach them their own strength, and to have them trained in readiness for the day when, in response to their increasing demands, the Pope must give an unfavourable reply. In March, 1847, Pius IX. announced his intention of appointing a Council of State, composed of laymen, to advise the Papal government, and on the 12th July he appointed a very liberal ministry. In October the new Council of State met, and in December, 1847, the Pope, by a *Motu Proprio*, recognised the responsibility of his ministers. These concessions only served to rouse the national feeling throughout Italy, and to strengthen the movement for a united and independent Italian nation. Charles Albert, king of Piedmont, imitated the liberal policy of Pius IX., while reforms were also granted in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. While the Young Italy Party looked to Charles Albert of Piedmont as the man to drive out the Austrians from Lombardy and Venice, and establish a united kingdom, the federalists turned to Pius IX., in the hope that he would place himself at the head of the anti-Austrian movement and establish a confederation of Italian States, the president of which should be the Pope, and its military defender, the king of Piedmont or Sardinia. The Austrians became alarmed at the serious turn affairs were taking in Italy, especially at the formation of a national guard in the Papal States, and the utterances of men like Padre Ventura. Rumours of a general rising in the Papal States were put in circulation. A few small conflicts took place, and, as a warning to the liberal Pope and the Italian patriots, an Austrian force marched into the Papal States and took possession of the fortress of Ferrara (17th July,

1847). Such a step only served to embitter the feelings in Italy against the foreign garrison, and placed the Pope in a very difficult position. The streets of Rome resounded with cries of "Down with the Austrians." Pius IX. protested energetically against the violation of his territory, but by the exertions of France and England an understanding was arrived at, and for the moment the danger of war seemed passed.

But with the opening of the new year, 1848, a series of revolutions broke out over Italy. Ferdinand II. had steadily refused all reforms in his kingdom of Naples, and, as a result, in January, 1848, a rebellion broke out, and on the 28th January the king was obliged to promise a constitution on the model of that established in France in 1830. In Piedmont, Charles Albert yielded to the wishes of his people, and promised a constitution, which was published on the 4th March. Leopold II., the Grand Duke of Tuscany, took a similar step (11th Feb., 1848). The effect of the Revolution in France was felt throughout Italy, and, instead of frightening Pius IX. from his scheme of liberal reform, only served to encourage him to proceed more rapidly.

In March, 1848, he established a ministry, composed almost entirely of laymen. Cardinal Antonelli was named its first president. The new ministry immediately demanded a constitution for the Papal States, and on the 14th March Pius IX. yielded to their request. According to the decree issued by him there was to be a Chamber of Deputies elected by the people, and an Upper House, the members of which should be nominated. The college of cardinals, as the senate of the Pope, was to have a restrictive voice on the legislation. The constitution was received with acclamations by the Romans, but the revolutionary party regarded it as rather a hindrance to their schemes. Meanwhile, the population in the Austrian territories of Lombardy and Venice began to move, and when the news arrived that a revolution had broken out in Vienna the inhabitants of Milan and Venice rose in rebellion, and attacked the

Austrian garrisons. Their first successes roused the rest of Italy. Modena, Reggio, Parma and Piacenza rose against their rulers, and threw in their fortunes with their countrymen of Lombardy and Venice. Charles Albert of Sardinia, carried away by his own enthusiasm and that of his people, assembled his forces and marched towards Milan.

The position of Pius IX. was difficult in the extreme. His subjects in the Papal States were thirsting for the command to aid in driving out the Austrians, and, as an Italian patriot, his own personal inclinations lay in the same direction. But as the Head of the Catholic Church, whose mission it was to preach peace, he felt it difficult to draw the sword against the House of Habsburg, which for centuries had been the mainstay of Catholicity in Europe. The populace blamed the Jesuits for the hesitation of the Pope. Gioberti's book, *Il Gesuita Moderno*, had roused a great deal of ill-feeling against the society in the Papal States and in Piedmont. Attacks were made upon its houses in Rome, and Pius IX. felt it necessary to advise them to withdraw before the storm. On the 28th March Father Roothan left Rome, and most of those under him followed his example. The Papal troops marched towards the frontiers under the command of General Durando, and for a moment, it seemed as if the Pope was determined to declare war upon Austria. The excitement in Italy and Austria ran high, but on the 29th April, the Pope delivered an allocution, which made it clear that though he did not approve of the Austrian measures, he felt unable, as Head of the Church, to proclaim war.

The ministry immediately resigned, and great disorders broke out in Rome. The mob surrounded the Papal palace and demanded that Count Mamiani, a leader among the revolutionary party, should be appointed Prime Minister. The Pope yielded for the time, but it was evident that such an arrangement could be only temporary. Finally, on September 16th, he appointed Count Rossi, Prime Minister, and nearly all

the other offices were given to laymen. The appointment of this liberal ministry satisfied the vast majority of the people. Count Rossi recognised that the people did not want war, that they were neither revolutionaries nor socialists, that they sought only reform, and he was determined to uphold the sovereignty of the Pope at all costs. The Parliament elected by the people was to meet in Rome on the 15th November, and the new Prime Minister, though warned that his life was in danger, determined to do his duty, and to be present at the opening of this important assembly. As he approached the steps of the Chamber he was set upon by a band of ruffians, and stabbed to death. The leaders of the revolutionary party stirred on their followers to overthrow the Papal government while everything was in confusion. The Pope was besieged in his palace, and was obliged to promise the formation of a democratic ministry. His advisers deemed it best that in the circumstances he should abandon the city. By the aid of Count Spaur, the Bavarian ambassador, and of the Duke of Harcourt, the ambassador of France, he escaped in disguise from the Quirinal, and fled to Gaëta in the kingdom of Naples. Here he was joined by Ferdinand II. of Naples, and by a great many of the cardinals, ambassadors, and noblemen of the Papal States.

Pius IX. appointed a commission to govern the Papal States till his return. But the revolutionary party, the leading members of whom had now flocked to Rome, formed a provisional government, and summoned a Constituent Assembly. The Assembly met in February, 1849, and was strongly radical in its character, owing to the fact that all loyal Catholics refused to take part in the elections lest by doing so they should recognise the new government. The papal government was abolished (9th Feb., 1849), and a Roman republic established. In March the administration was confided to three triumvirs, Mazzini, Saffi, and Armellini. Pius IX. saw that there was no longer any hope of securing submission by peaceful negotiations, and on 18th February he

issued an appeal to France, Austria, Spain, and Naples to help in putting an end to the rebellion in the Papal States. As no agreement for combined action between these countries could be concluded, each state determined to act separately. On the 26th April General Oudinot landed at the head of a French expedition, and marched on Rome, in the hope that the revolutionary government would open the gates of the city without resistance, but he soon found his mistake, and was obliged to fall back and await reinforcements. These were quickly despatched from Paris, and on the 29th June, 1849, the French troops entered Rome. On the 3rd July the keys of the city were forwarded to Gaëta. Pius IX. did not return immediately owing to disputes between his advisers and the French ministers. The latter demanded that the Pope should accept certain reforms, while the Pope's advisers, strongly supported by Austria, refused to recognise the right of France to interfere in the internal government of the Papal States. At length on the 17th September the Pope issued a *Motu Proprio*, in which he favoured the appointment of a council to prepare legislation and to inquire into administration, of a Council of State to advise on financial affairs, of provincial and district councils, together with a reform of the law codes, and an amnesty for political offences. He returned to his capital in April, 1850, and was well received by the people, But his experience during these years had destroyed the liberalism of Pius IX. He returned a changed man, and henceforth he was to follow the conservative policy urged on him by his minister, Cardinal Antonelli.

The war against Austria was unsuccessful. Charles Albert, deserted by most of the other states, made a good resistance, but the Piedmontese forces were routed at Novara in March, 1849, and the king abdicated in favour of his son, Victor Emmanuel II. Leopold II. returned to the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. Ferdinand II. reduced Sicily to obedience, and Venice and Lombardy were obliged to submit to the Austrian rule. The party

of national unity was defeated for the time, but the action of Charles Albert had placed Piedmont at the head of the movement, and had induced the friends of national unity and independence to look for relief from the House of Savoy rather than from the sovereign of the Papal States.

Victor Emmanuel II. pursued a liberal policy in Piedmont, and owing to his attacks upon the prerogatives of the Church was brought into conflict with the clergy and with Pius IX. In 1850, the Siccardi law, abolishing the ecclesiastical courts, and the right of asylum, and reducing the number of holidays, was passed against the protests of the Pope. The archbishops of Turin and Cagliari, who had taken a prominent part in opposing the measure, were sent into exile. Cavour, who had been one of the most strenuous supporters of the measure, was appointed Minister of Commerce. In 1852, a marriage law was passed by the Chamber of Deputies, but Victor Emmanuel refused to sanction the project, and the bill was abandoned. Cavour, as President of the Council and Minister for Foreign Affairs, became the guiding spirit of the policy of Piedmont. He took up the idea of a united Italy under the House of Savoy, and in spite of discouragements he succeeded in realising his plans. During the war of England and France against Russia in the Crimea, Cavour concluded an alliance with the two former powers, and as a result his appeal for reform in Italy at the Congress of Paris (1856) met a favourable response from France and England.

Napoleon III., as a young man, had been favourable to the unity and freedom of Italy.* As Emperor of France the fear of provoking his Catholic subjects restrained him from interfering in Italian affairs, but, at the same time, he understood the advantage it would be to France were Italy freed by French assistance, and connected with France by bonds of gratitude and dependence. France and Italy so united could defy the might of Prussia, or even of all Germany. Hence, the Em-

* *Rome et Napoléon III.*, Paris 1907.

peror favoured the policy of Cavour, and the Orsini bomb in 1858 determined him to translate his sympathy into action. Cavour and Napoleon III. met secretly at Plombières, and Napoleon pledged himself to aid Piedmont in expelling the Austrians from Italy, and annexing their Italian territories; while, on the other hand, Cavour agreed to cede Savoy and Nice to France. With such an understanding the outbreak of war was only a matter of time. In order to reconcile his Catholic subjects to an Italian war, a semi-official pamphlet, entitled *Napoléon III. et L'Italie*,* was published in Paris in February, 1859. It recommended the liberation of Italy from the foreign yoke, the establishment of an Italian confederation under the presidency of the Pope, and the adoption of Liberal reforms in the Papal States.

In April, 1859, war was declared between Austria and Piedmont. Napoleon, before setting out for the Italian campaign, pledged himself to defend the integrity of the Papal States, and attended a solemn religious ceremony in the church of Notre Dame. The united Italian and French armies were too strong for the Austrians, and after the bloody battles of Magenta (4th June) and of Solferino (24th June) the two Emperors, Francis Joseph of Austria, and Napoleon III., agreed to an armistice. On the 11th July, at Villafranca, they signed the preliminaries for a peace, according to which Austria handed over Lombardy to Napoleon, who was to transfer it to Piedmont, while Austria was to continue in possession of Venice. The Italian states were to be grouped together in a confederacy, with the Pope as permanent president. Cavour opposed such terms, but as Victor Emmanuel was unable to follow his advice, he resigned his position, and left Piedmont.

But the revolutionary party were determined to carry out their plan of a united Italy under the House of Savoy against the wishes of France, Austria and the Pope. Revolutions were stirred up in Tuscany, Parma, Modena, and in the Papal States at Ravenna and

* Written by an intimate friend of Napoleon III., La Guéronnière.

Bologna. They were secretly encouraged from Piedmont to take no notice of the peace of Villafranca. Plebiscites were held in the different states, and the vast majority of those voting in Tuscany, Parma, Modena and the Romagna province of the Papal States, declared their desire of union with Piedmont. Cavour returned to Piedmont; the adhesion of these states was accepted, and in the Parliament (2nd April, 1860) Victor Emmanuel was able to announce that nearly all northern and central Italy was now united under his rule.

Pius IX. protested against the annexation of the Romagna, but it was soon evident that he could not rely upon Napoleon III. for redress. In December, 1859, another semi-official pamphlet, entitled *Le Pape et Le Congrès*, appeared at Paris, in which, though the sovereign independence of the Pope was insisted upon, it was pointed out that owing to his position as Head of the Catholic Church, and the difficulty of reconciling his spiritual jurisdiction with the needs of a limited monarchy, he should be content with the city of Rome and a small portion of the surrounding territory. This, and a competent revenue should be secured to him by the guarantee of the Catholic powers. In a private letter to Pius IX. Napoleon urged the same view. But Pius IX. refused to listen to such counsels. He had taken an oath to guard intact the Papal States as the territory of the Catholic Church, and he refused to yield his rights at the bidding of the revolutionaries. Clearly perceiving that the policy of Cavour was to stir up revolution, and then to reap the fruits of that movement by annexing the rebel territories, Pius IX. entrusted the formation of an army for the defence of the Papal States to General Lamorcière, and issued a call for volunteers. Thousands flocked to his standard from all the countries of Europe, especially from France and Ireland. The Treaty between Napoleon III. and Victor Emmanuel, by which Savoy and Nice were handed over to France, was concluded on 24th March (1860), and thus the Emperor had become the accomplice of Piedmont in its Italian

campaign. Two days later Pius IX. published a decree of excommunication against all who had taken part in the seizure of the Papal States.

Meanwhile, the pioneers of Piedmontese annexation, Garibaldi and his associates, began the attack on the kingdom of Naples, whose young king, Francis II., supported the Pope against Piedmont. The campaign of Garibaldi was most successful, and Cavour, anxious to reap the fruits of the revolution for Piedmont, opened negotiations for annexation. The Marches and Umbria in the Papal States were also included in Cavour's plans of annexation; and in September, 1860, a messenger was despatched from Victor Emmanuel to announce to the Pope that in order to put an end to the disorders in these territories a Piedmontese army of occupation was being despatched thither. France promptly withdrew its ambassador from Piedmont, as did all the other powers except England and Sweden.

The Papal army, under General Lamorcière, was meant only to preserve internal order, and unless supported by France could not hope to resist the army of Piedmont. General Lamorcière suffered a dreadful defeat at Castelfidardo (18th Sept.), but with the remnant of his troops made his way to the port of Ancona, which he hoped to hold until reinforced by the soldiers of Napoleon III. But the expected assistance was not forthcoming, and on the 29th September Ancona was obliged to capitulate. Thus, together with Romagna, the Marches and Umbria were now separated from the Papal States, that is to say, Piedmont had seized three-fourths of the Pope's dominions. The Adriatic provinces were all lost, as were five of the ten provinces along the Mediterranean, and the population under the rule of the Pope was reduced from about 3,000,000 to about 685,000. Naples, too, was completely overcome, and its king, Francis II., an exile; so that when the Italian Parliament met in February at Turin all Italy, except the small strip of territory adjoining Rome, and Venice, which was still under Austrian rule, was sub-

ject to Victor Emmanuel. In March, 1861, Victor Emmanuel was declared king of Italy.

The new Italian kingdom was now an accomplished fact, but its existence was still precarious. Many of the great powers refused to recognise it officially, and Napoleon III., though he had opened up the way to the destruction of the Papal States, was still wavering. The Catholics of France were a strong body, and expressed their dissatisfaction in no uncertain tone. Mgr. Dupanloup, the liberal, was as vigorous in his protests as Mgr. Pie, the ultramontane. The question of a capital for the new kingdom was still to be met. Turin must be abandoned on account of its proximity to the Italian territory that had been ceded to France. Naples was out of the question for reasons of national unity. The choice lay between Rome and Florence, and Cavour, in the first Italian Parliament, declared that Rome must be the capital, but before he could realise his plans he died (6th June, 1861). He declared that the independence of the Holy See must be respected, and that the policy of Piedmont was then, what it had always been, a free Church in a free state. Negotiations were opened up with Rome through Passaglia, who had left the Jesuits in 1859, but the negotiations failed, as Pius IX. refused to recognise the spoliation of his territory. Passaglia published a work, *Pro Causa Italica ad Episcopos Catholicos*, in favour of the views of Cavour, and some other ecclesiastics supported this party. Passaglia himself fled to Turin, and Father Augustine Theiner defended the Papal sovereignty against such attacks in his celebrated book, *Codex Diplomaticus Domini Temporalis Sanctae Sedis*. It was at the same time that Döllinger, whose views on the necessity of the temporal dominion of the Pope had been suspected, published *Kirche und Kirchen, Papsttum und Kirchenstaat*.

Napoleon III. recognised the kingdom of Italy in 1861, but persistently refused to allow Rome to be selected as the capital. He was distrusted by Pius IX.,

and was detested by the supporters of Victor Emmanuel. While the question was still the subject of negotiation Garibaldi determined to settle it as he had settled so many other thorny problems of Italian politics. He gathered a force of about 2,000 men and raised his favourite cry "Rome or Death." But the Italian government, fearing the intervention of France, despatched a body of troops, who arrested him at Aspromonte (August, 1862). At length in September, 1864, an agreement was concluded between Napoleon III. and Victor Emmanuel. It consisted of four articles, according to which Italy pledged itself not to invade the remnant of the Papal States, and, if necessary, to prevent any such invasion, nor was it to offer any objection to the Pope organising an army of volunteers for the preservation of order in his dominions. On the other hand, France agreed to withdraw the French garrison from Rome according as the Papal army was organised, the withdrawal to be completed in two years. The *September Convention*, as this agreement was known, was denounced by the Pope and by the French Catholics as a betrayal of the Holy See. The Italian capital was transferred from Turin to Florence.

In the year 1866 things looked decidedly threatening for the Pope. The French troops had taken their departure from Rome, while Italy, as the ally of Prussia in the war against Austria, secured possession of Venice. Negotiations were again opened up between Pius IX. and Victor Emmanuel about the vacant Italian bishoprics, but the main cause of disagreement still remained unsettled. Nor was the home policy of the new Italian government such as was likely to recommend it to the Pope. Owing to its bankrupt financial condition, the entire ecclesiastical property was seized and sold, the money going to the state Treasury, while the state on its part undertook to pay the salaries of the clergy (1867). At the same time, Garibaldi began a new campaign against the Papal States. He made a tour through Italy to rouse the people to aid him in capturing

Rome. The French ambassador warned the Italian government to stop this campaign, and French warships were held in readiness to be despatched to the assistance of the Pope. The government arrested Garibaldi, but continued to allow the enlisting of volunteers, hoping that disturbances might break out in the Papal States. When all was ready Garibaldi was allowed to escape, and arrived in Florence, where he gathered around his standard a band of recruits, and marched southwards towards Rome. Immediately the French fleet was despatched from Toulon (28th Oct.), and two days later a French army marched into Rome. Garibaldi was already within a few miles of Rome, but the help which he expected in the Papal States was not forthcoming. General Kanzler, at the head of the Papal troops, and supported by a body of the French soldiers, advanced against him, and routed him at Mentana (3rd Nov.).

The French garrison remained in Rome for the defence of the Papal States, much to the disgust of the Italian government; but Napoleon III. was so determined to uphold the Papal sovereignty that he refused to enter into an alliance with Italy and Austria, one of the terms of which would have been permission to Italy to capture Rome.* When it was evident that war was about to break out between France and Prussia in 1870 both sides began to bid for Italian support. Prussia promised a free hand in regard to Rome, while Napoleon III. recalled the French troops (12th July, 1870). Personally, Victor Emmanuel was in favour of supporting Napoleon, and of leading an Italian army across the Alps to his relief, but the popular feeling was entirely on the other side, and the king was obliged to abandon his idea.

In August, 1870, the French troops marched from Rome, and it was hoped that on their departure insurrections would be organised in the Papal States, and that the Italian government might have a decent pretext for intervention. But no such outbreaks took place, and

* Nielsen, *op. cit.*, Vol. II., p. 377.

many of the ministers were against the plan of an unprovoked attack. The news, however, that the French were defeated at Sedan, and that Napoleon III. was a prisoner in the hands of the Prussians, liberated Italy from all fear of France, and an immediate march upon Rome was determined upon. Victor Emmanuel forwarded a letter to Pius IX., announcing the intentions of his government, and pledging himself to guard the independence of the Holy See (9th Sept., 1870). But the Pope, who had already learned, by bitter experience, the value of imperial or royal pledges, refused to hand over his dominions, and the employment of force became necessary. Two days later General Cadorna crossed the frontiers with an immense Italian army.

His orders were to march on Rome with all possible speed, so as to preclude all chance of European intervention, and on the 17th September he was close to the walls of Rome. The Pope instructed General Kanzler to refuse to surrender the capital, though the smallness of the Papal army gave no hopes of a successful resistance. The general was ordered to defend the city until a breach should have been made, so as to proclaim to the world that the Pope had not voluntarily surrendered his dominions, but, once a breach was made, the resistance was to cease. The attack on Rome began on the morning of the 20th September, and by nine o'clock a breach had been made in the walls at Porta Pia. Pius IX. ordered the white flag to be hoisted, and negotiations were begun between the two generals for a surrender of the city. The following day the Italian army made its formal entrance into Rome, while the last defenders of the Vatican marched away with heavy hearts through the Porta Cavalleggeri. All the old revolutionary exiles returned to the city, and stirred up demonstrations against the Pope and the clergy, while the vast body of the people viewed the progress of events in silence. The plebiscite was taken on 2nd October. Pius IX. warned his subjects to take no part in the election. The result was that the vast body of those who

were supposed to have voted declared in favour of union with the rest of Italy, and Victor Emmanuel issued a royal decree confirming the decision of the people, and annexing the remainder of the Papal States (11th Oct.). Pius IX. issued the Brief, *Postquam Dei Munere*, suspending the Vatican Council, and on the 1st November he published the Encyclical, *Respicientes ea omnia*, excommunicating the usurpers, their abettors and advisers. But owing to the state of affairs in Europe the Pope could not hope for European intervention. France was already hopelessly beaten, Prussia favoured Italy, while Austria was unable to engage in a new war, and its government at that particular period was rather hostile to the Holy See.

The Quirinal palace was seized as a residence for Victor Emmanuel, and the Radical party demanded that the king should take up his residence in Rome, and that Rome should be declared the capital of Italy. But there were difficulties in the way. The capture of Rome had excited the indignation of Catholics throughout the world, and the governments of Europe began to realise that the position of the Pope was one of international interest, and could not be left to the whim of an Italian Parliament. A conference was proposed, but as a conference could only end in confirming the *status quo* France objected. Others thought of a concordat, but the Pope's recent experience in Austria and Germany of the value of concordats made him unwilling to accept any such solution. At length, the Italian Parliament passed the Law of Guarantees* (13th May, 1871), by which the relations between the Pope and the Italian government were settled. According to this law the person of the Pope was declared to be sacred and inviolable, and all crimes against him were to be punished as if they were directed against the king; but it was added that discussions on religious subjects were perfectly free. The latter clause nullified in a great measure

* *Legge per le Guarentigie delle Prerogative del Sommo Pontefice e della Santa Sede, e per le relazioni dello Stato colla Chiesa.*

the value of the guarantee, and it is under the shadow of free religious discussion that all kinds of brutal attacks on the Pope in some Italian newspapers have been allowed to go unpunished. The Italian government undertook to treat the Pope as an independent sovereign, and to allow him the precedence conceded to him by Catholic nations. He might retain his own soldiers for the defence of his person and palaces. The ambassadors of foreign nations at the Vatican should have the same rights and immunities as the envoys of the foreign powers at the Quirinal.

The Vatican, the Lateran palace, and the palace at Castel Gandolfo, were to be placed at the Pope's disposal, together with an annual pension of 3,225,000 lire. He should have full liberty to exercise the functions of his office, and the absolute freedom of General Councils and conclaves for the election of a Pope were solemnly guaranteed. He was allowed his own post-office and telegraph office, and all his letters and telegrams were to be forwarded free of charge in Italian territory. His officials were to be protected by the civil authorities, and all foreign clergymen in Rome were to be treated as Italian citizens. In Rome and in the suburbicarian dioceses all seminaries, academies, and colleges for the education of the clergy were to be subject only to the Pope.

The future relations between the Church and State in Italy were also arranged. The government disclaimed all right to appoint or make suggestions about the appointments of bishops, nor were the bishops to be obliged to take an oath of loyalty to the king. With the exception, however, of those appointed to the suburbicarian sees, they should be Italians by birth, nor were any alterations to be made in regard to the ecclesiastical benefices over which the king already enjoyed the rights of patronage. The *Exequatur* was withdrawn for all ecclesiastical documents. But the value of these clauses was lessened by the provision that all ecclesiastical appointments, except to the suburbicarian sees, must be

approved by the government before the persons who were so named could enjoy the revenues, and all decisions of the ecclesiastical authorities referring to the temporal possessions of the Church required the *Exequatur* before they could have civil force. This Law of Guarantees was declared to be a fundamental law of the state (1878), but the Italians have always maintained that at most it is only an Italian law, and is in no sense an international agreement.

Pius IX. refused to accept the Law of Guarantees, and two days after its publication he issued an Encyclical in explanation of his attitude. After renewing his protest against the seizure of the Papal States, he pointed out that unless the Pope had his own territory he must necessarily be the subject of the Italian ruler, and the Law of Guarantees, which, on the face of it supposed such a subjection, entirely failed to secure the liberty necessary for the Holy See. Pius IX. refused to acknowledge such a guarantee, and refused to accept the salary that was offered to him by Italy. He remained shut up in the Vatican as a protest against the occupation of Rome, and his successors have maintained the same attitude. It is evident that the Roman difficulty cannot be settled by a Law of Guarantees passed by an Italian Parliament. The Pope, whose subjects are to be found in every nation, cannot be even apparently the dependent of any particular nation. His position must be secured by an agreement between the governments of the world, all of which have an interest in protecting his independence; and until an agreement, satisfactory to the Pope, has been arrived at the Roman question cannot be regarded as settled.

When the Law of Guarantees was promulgated it was determined to transfer the capital of the kingdom from Florence to Rome. Victor Emmanuel made his solemn entry into the city on 2nd July, 1871. Though the government had spared no expense in preparing a magnificent reception, large numbers refused to take any part in the rejoicing, and the ambassadors of nearly all the

powers withdrew so as not to be present at the ceremony. About the same time Pius IX. celebrated the jubilee of his coronation, and received the homage of the people and the congratulations of the nations and people of the world.

It was not long till difficulties began to arise between the government and the Pope. The first controversy broke out about the appointment of Italian bishops, the government insisting that by the Law of Guarantees the appointments must be confirmed by the civil authorities before those selected could be legally recognised, while the Pope forbade the newly named bishops from demanding such confirmation, as it would imply a recognition of the Law. It looked for a time as if a real Kulturkampf was going to break out in Italy, but the government shrank from such a contest, and gradually a *modus vivendi* was agreed upon. The opening of all kinds of Protestant churches, and the establishment of Bible Societies in the city of the Popes were naturally resented by Pius IX., while the abolition of the faculties of theology, and the secularisation of the Italian universities showed the spirit of the new government.

N In 1872, two bills were introduced in order to apply to Rome the laws for the suppression of monasteries and the sale of ecclesiastical property which had been in force in the remainder of Italy. The Italian kingdom was nearly bankrupt, and in the Parliament the radical element, which, owing to the Pope's forbidding Catholics to be electors or elected, was very strong, urged that these laws should be passed. They received the sanction of the king in July, 1873, and the houses of the religious orders in Rome were seized and converted into government buildings. Owing to the fear of international complications, the head houses of the orders which were spread into other countries, and the national colleges in Rome, were spared. The Minerva was seized and converted into the Ministry of Worship, the *Collegium Romanum* was taken from the Jesuits, and its

library appropriated. Pius IX. protested in vain against these new attacks. The hope of aid from France was gradually disappearing according as the Republican party became strong, but the heart of the aged Pontiff was consoled by the redoubled sympathy of Catholics throughout the world. Mgr. Dupanloup came to Rome in 1874, and on his return wrote an able statement of the case of the Holy See against Italy. In 1876, the Liberals were defeated, and the Left came into office for the first time, under the leadership of Depretis. His term of office is marked by one long list of shameless corruption and public scandals, the only object of the government being apparently to hold office and enrich its members.* Religious processions outside churches were strictly forbidden, and a Catholic congress at Bologna was suppressed (1876).

In November of the same year Pius IX. lost his Secretary of State, Cardinal Antonelli, and Cardinal Simeoni was appointed to succeed him. The ministerial party were very violent in their references to the Pope, while the speech of Victor Emmanuel at the opening of the Parliament in November, 1876, seemed to forebode new attacks. A bill was shortly after introduced to prevent the clergy, under threats of very severe penalties, from using their influence to promote political objects, and Mancini, the Minister of Justice, was very violent in his references to the clergy and to the Pope. It was passed in the Chamber of Deputies in January, 1877, and in March the Pope delivered a strong allocution, emphasising the fact that the measure afforded a new proof that the boasted independence of the Holy See was only a delusion. The Italian government felt constrained to issue a reply, and in May the Senate rejected Mancini's penal code against the clergy.

In June, 1877, Pius IX. celebrated the golden jubilee of his episcopate, and crowds of pilgrims flocked to Rome from all parts of the world to take part in the celebration. On the same day (3rd June) Victor Emmanuel

* Bolton King, *Italy of To-day*, London, 1901, p. 3.

celebrated the thirtieth anniversary of the Piedmontese constitution, but its coincidence with the Papal jubilee only served to show how little attention was still paid to the king of Italy in the city of the Popes. A few months later the king took ill, and, having been reconciled to the Church, and having received the last Sacraments, he passed away (9th January, 1878). Pius IX. did not long survive him. In the beginning of February, 1878, he took ill, and those who knew him recognised that his end was near. On the 8th February he asked that the last Sacraments should be administered, and on the afternoon of that day he breathed his last. The tolling of the church bells and of the great bell in the Capitol announced to the people of Rome that the earthly sorrows of Pius IX. were at an end.

(b) PIUS IX., THE SYLLABUS AND THE VATICAN COUNCIL

SYLLABUS—*Acta Pii IX. ex quibus excerptus est Syllabus*, Rome, 1865. Rinaldi, *Il Valore del Sillabo*, Rome, 1888. Viéville, *Le Syllabus Commenté*, &c., Paris, 1879. Tosi, *Vorlesungen über den Syllabus*, Vienna, 1865. Heiner, *Der Syllabus*, &c., Mayence, 1895. THE VATICAN COUNCIL—*Acta et Decreta Concilii Vaticani, Collectio Lacensis VII.*, Freiburg, 1892. Granderath, *Geschichte des Vatikanischen Konzils*, 3 Bde., Freiburg, 1903-6. Cecconi, *Storia del Concilio Ecumenico Vaticano*, 4 vols., Rome, 1873-9. Ollivier, *L'Église et l'État au Concile du Vatican*, 2 vols., Paris, 1879. Manning, *The True Story of the Vatican Council*, London, 1871. Friedrich, *Geschichte des Vatikanischen Konzils*, 4 vols., Bonn, 1887.

The most important events for the Church during the reign of Pius IX. were the definition of the Immaculate Conception in 1854, the publication of the Syllabus in 1864, and the celebration of the Vatican Council (1869-70). Already in 1849, when the Pope was an exile in Gaëta, he issued a letter to the bishops of the Church requesting them to explain their views and the opinions of their flocks upon the subject of the Immaculate Conception (2nd February). The replies of most of the bishops were favourable to the definition, and the Pope appointed a commission of theologians, the principal of whom

were Perrone, Schrader, and Passaglia, to examine the replies, and the tradition of the Church. Passaglia prepared a very learned defence of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, which he published in 1854.* After the theological commission prepared their report a number of the bishops were invited to be present in Rome for the definition. On the 8th December, 1854, Pius IX. solemnly promulgated the Bull, *Ineffabilis Deus*, by which it was defined as of Catholic faith that the Blessed Virgin Mary, in the first moment of her conception, by a special grace of God, and in consideration of the merits of her Son, Jesus Christ, was preserved from all taint of original sin. This definition marks an important step in the history of Papal Infallibility, for on this occasion the Pope, without the co-operation of a General Council, and by his own independent and sovereign authority, laid down a doctrine which must be accepted by the whole Catholic world. Such a course of action seemed to imply Papal Infallibility.†

The definition of the Immaculate Conception was received with enthusiasm, especially in Italy, Spain, France and Austria. Hardly a dissentient voice was raised against either the doctrine itself or against the action of the Pope. The apparition at Lourdes in 1858 gave a new impetus to devotion to Mary, and from that period Lourdes has been remarkable for its series of miracles, and for the throngs of pilgrims who flock thither from all parts of the world. From that time, too, the May devotions to the Blessed Virgin were taken up with greater zeal.

In 1855, Pius IX. concluded a concordat with Austria, which was extremely favourable to the Holy See, and in 1862, he invited a great number of the bishops to be present at Rome for the canonisation of the Japanese Martyrs. The question of publishing a Syllabus of the false doctrines which were then current had engaged the

* Passaglia, *De Immaculato B. M. V. Conceptu*, Rome, 1854.

† Bellamy, *La Théologie au XIX^e Siècle*, Paris, 1904, pp. 51-2.

attention of the Pope almost from the beginning of his pontificate. The alarming spread of rationalism, naturalism, and indifferentism began to threaten the very foundations of the Catholic religion, and to exercise no little influence on the utterances and publications of a certain section within the Church. The programme of de Lamennais and the *L'Avenir* school, the teaching of Gioberti and Ventura in Italy, the Traditionalism of Bautain and of Louvain, the philosophic naturalism of Hermes and of the new school of German apologists, the unbridled liberty claimed for scientists by Döllinger and his associates in the Munich Congress (1863), and the remarkable speech of Montalembert on a "Free Church in a Free State" at the Mechlin Catholic Congress (1863), served as a warning to the Pope that even in Catholic circles grave misunderstandings existed, which rendered an authoritative explanation imperative. A commission was established at Rome under the presidency of Cardinal Bilio, and in 1864 the Syllabus, together with the Bull, *Quanta Cura*, was published.

The syllabus contained 80 Propositions, 14 of which refer to naturalism and rationalism, 4 to indifferentism and latitudinarianism, 20 to socialism, communism, Bible Societies and errors about the Church and her rights, 17 to the question of the relations between Church and state, 12 to Christian and natural morality, 10 to Christian marriage, 2 to the Temporal Power, and 4 to Liberalism. The Bull, *Quanta Cura*, singled out sixteen propositions for particular condemnation. Though most of the errors touched upon in both these documents had been already condemned by the Holy See, yet the publication of the collection of doctrinal errors in such solemn form created a great sensation, both in Catholic and non-Catholic circles. The enemies of the Church, interpreting the document in their own peculiar way, raised the cry that the Pope had now declared the utter irreconcilability of the Catholic Church with modern progress, that the Church was opposed to liberty in all departments, and that the teaching of the Syllabus was

out of harmony with the principles of civil government. The history of the last forty-five years has proved how groundless were such assertions, but, at the time, they were not without an effect upon many, both inside and outside the Church. Napoleon III. issued a circular to the French bishops, forbidding them to publish the Syllabus and the Encyclical until further notice (1st Jan., 1865); and four days later a decree was issued which limited the prohibition to the first portion of the Encyclical. But the bishops, following the leadership of men like Mgrs. Pie, Guibert, and Mathieu, took very little notice of the imperial prohibition. Mgr. Dupanloup issued a pamphlet, *La Convention du 15 Septembre et l'Encyclique du 8 Décembre*, which removed many misunderstandings about the meaning of certain condemned propositions, and went far to allay the feeling of unrest that had been caused by the Papal documents.

In 1864, two days before the publication of the Syllabus, Pius IX. communicated to some of the cardinals, under the seal of secrecy, his intention of convoking a General Council, and requested the cardinals present in Rome to furnish him with a statement of their views. Nearly all of them were in favour of holding a Council. In March, 1865, he appointed a central commission of five cardinals, the president of which was Patrizzi, to report on the advisability of a Council, the obstacles which must be overcome, the rules for such an assembly, and the subject-matter of the discussions. The commission advised the Pope to consult the more prominent bishops in the Church, and in April and May, 1865, letters were sent to thirty-six of the leading bishops of the Latin rite, and later on to the principal bishops of the Oriental rite. The replies of the bishops were favourable to the idea of a General Council, and the majority recommended that the future Council should direct its attention to the leading errors against Christian teaching, the relations between Church and State, discipline, the missions, and the union of the Eastern and Western Churches.

In 1867, Pius IX. invited the bishops of the world to attend the celebration of the eighteenth centenary of St. Peter in Rome. Great numbers from all parts of the Church accepted the invitation, and in a public consistory, held on the 26th June, 1867, the Pope announced his intention of convoking a General Council. The bishops, in their reply (2nd July), congratulated the Pope on his resolve, and promised their earnest co-operation. The work of preparation was now pushed forward rapidly. The central commission advised that five auxiliary commissions should be established, one for doctrine, one for ecclesiastical-political questions, one for missions and the reunion of the churches, one for discipline, and one for religious orders, and that in addition to the Roman theologians and canonists distinguished scholars should be invited from all parts of the world (11th Aug., 1867). This suggestion was accepted, and theologians and ecclesiastical historians of repute were requested to come to Rome. Hefele, Schrader, Hergenröther, Alzog, Hettinger, were among the distinguished representatives of Germany and Austria. Professor Feye represented Louvain, Gay, Freppel, Gibert, Chesnel were amongst the French scholars, Canon Weathers, Rector of St. Edmunds, attended from England, and Dr. Corcoran, of Charleston, attended from America. Many of the German and Austrian bishops urged that Döllinger should be summoned, but for reasons, which later events showed to be well justified, the Roman authorities refused to follow their advice.

The central commission was charged with deciding who should be invited to the Council. In regard to the cardinals and bishops actually governing dioceses there could be no difficulty. The usage of former Councils showed that the cardinals must be included, while the position of the bishops was guaranteed by the divine constitution of the Church. The invitation of the titular bishops raised some discussion, but they were finally included, as were also the principal abbots and

the generals of religious orders, while the procurators of absent bishops and representatives of cathedral chapters were not allowed a definitive vote in the deliberations of the Council. In regard to those Christians not in communion with Rome it was decided to send a special circular letter to each of the Eastern bishops, and to issue a general invitation to Protestants; but both these bodies declined to take part in the Council. Furthermore, owing to the change that had been introduced in the relations of the modern states towards the Church, it was decided to deviate from the usage of previous Councils, and to issue no special invitation to the representatives of the Catholic governments. The Bull, *Aeterni Patris*, solemnly convoking the Council for the 8th December, 1869, was issued in June, 1868.

The convocation of the Council, while pleasing to the vast body of the Catholic clergy and people, roused the bitter enmity of the radical-liberal party throughout Europe. Even in Catholic circles very sharp controversies broke out, especially in France and Germany, between what may be designated, for convenience sake, the liberal and conservative schools of thought. The feeling, which was already running high, became intense after the publication in the *Civiltà Cattolica* in January, 1869, of the views of a French correspondent, who announced that people in France desired the definition of Papal Infallibility, and that they hoped the fathers of the Council would pass it with acclamation. This was reproduced by *L'Univers* in Paris, and immediately all other subjects were forgotten except Papal Infallibility. *Le Français*, the organ of the French Liberal Catholics, attacked the *Civiltà* and *L'Univers*.

But the ablest opponent of Papal Infallibility at this period was Ignatius von Döllinger, professor of ecclesiastical history in the University of Munich. As a historian Döllinger stood in the front rank of his profession, and, as a writer and speaker, had done wonders for the Catholic Church in Germany; but as his reputation for learning became greater, his respect for Church

authority grew less. He was looked up to as the head of the movement amongst a certain section of Catholic professors and scientists which aimed at asserting the absolute independence of science from theology and from ecclesiastical supervision, and as such he was regarded with suspicion in Rome. The knowledge that he was distrusted only served to embitter his feelings, and from 1867 it was well known that Döllinger must be reckoned among the strong opponents of the Council. In 1868, (10th to 15th March) he contributed a series of letters directed against the *Civiltà* to the *Allgemeine Zeitung*. These letters were devoted principally to the question of Papal Infallibility, and at once attracted general attention on account of the ability and bitterness with which the teaching was assailed. Nothing was omitted which could possibly damage the Papacy, or which was likely to stir up German Catholics against the future definition. The agitation in Germany now became general, and the excitement became so great that the situation was thoroughly alarming.

Döllinger was the trusted councillor on ecclesiastical affairs of the Liberal ministry in Bavaria, and it was probably due to his influence that the Prime Minister, Prince Hohenlohe, determined to invite the governments to intervene. In April, 1869, the latter issued a circular to the Bavarian ambassadors abroad to sound the governments to which they were accredited about the advisability of taking joint action in regard to the approaching Council; and a little later, submitted a series of questions to the theological and law faculties in the University of Munich. But the circular of Prince Hohenlohe did not meet with the response that he expected. Prussia and England refused to intervene, or to send representatives to the Council. Austria-Hungary took up the same attitude. France decided, after some hesitation, not to send an official representative, and allowed its bishops full freedom to follow their own views. Spain and Portugal adopted the same line of action. Italy, however willing to interfere, was constrained to keep quiet, and Russia

alone of the nations of Europe forbade its bishops to obey the summons to Rome.

But, though the hopes of diplomatic intervention had practically vanished, the agitation in Germany became more violent and threatening. An address from a number of laymen was prepared at Coblenz against Papal Infallibility and presented to the bishop of Treves, and a similar address, signed by most of the Catholic professors and professional men in Bonn, was forwarded to the archbishop of Cologne. In August, 1869, the Catholic members of the German Tariff Parliament prepared a document for presentation to the German bishops, but in general it was moderate and respectful in its tone. By means of the press and of anonymous pamphlets the excitement was kept at fever heat, and the opposition against Infallibility assumed more general proportions.

In August, 1869, Döllinger published the book *Janus*. It contained the substance of the five articles already published in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, and was a very able summary of all the historical objections that could be urged against Papal Infallibility. Fortunately refutations of this work were not wanting. The best of these was undoubtedly *Anti-Janus*, written by Professor Hergenröther of Würzburg University. Like Döllinger, he, too, was professor of church history, and held a leading position among Catholic scholars in Germany, but, unlike Döllinger, he knew how to combine thoroughly scientific investigation with due respect for the divinely constituted authority of the Church.

The bishops of Germany were in a peculiarly difficult position. Whether personally in favour of Infallibility or opposed to it, they could not fail to be alarmed at the dangerous tendency of the movement. In the circumstances, it was thought best to hold a meeting of their own body at Fulda in September, 1869. The assembly was attended by sixteen bishops, one bishop elect, professor Hefele, who had been appointed to the see of Rottenburg, and the procurators of three absent bishops. They determined to send a private letter to the Pope, in

which the arguments against the advisability of the definition, especially in so far as it would affect the Church in Germany, should be set forth at length. This document was signed by about two-thirds of those present. At the same time they issued a pastoral letter to the Catholics of Germany, which was well calculated to allay the excitement and uneasiness that Döllinger and his friends had so industriously instigated. They pointed out that the Council could not define any teaching that was not already contained in the Scriptures or in Tradition, that it could not define anything that would be opposed to the rights of the state or the interests of true science, and that, as Jesus Christ had promised that the Holy Ghost would be present to direct the Church till the end of time, the Holy Spirit would assist the deliberations of the Council. The pastoral was read in all the Catholic churches of Germany, and made an excellent impression.

Naturally, too, in France the question of a General Council, and of the decrees it was likely to publish, called forth warm discussions. Already in France the leading Catholics were divided into two clearly distinct schools, the conservative school with Mgr. Pie as its head, and *L'Univers* as its principal organ, and the liberal school under the leadership of Mgr. Dupanloup of Orleans, and having for its organs *Le Correspondant* and *Le Français*. The announcement that Mgr. Maret, dean of the theological faculty at the Sorbonne, and bishop *in partibus*, was about to publish a work on the Council was sufficient to open the discussion. Mgr. Maret was well known to be unfavourable to the definition of Papal Infallibility, and when two volumes of his work, *Du Concile Général et de la Paix religieuse*, appeared in Paris in September, 1869, it was, as had been expected, strongly Gallican in its tendencies. It was publicly attacked by Mgr. Pie, and by others of the French bishops and clergy. About the same period Père Hyacinth, another of the Liberal leaders, announced his withdrawal from the Carmelite order and from the Church.

In October the *Correspondant*, the organ of the Liberal Catholic party, which was supported at this time by Dupanloup, Montalembert, Falloux, de Broglie, Perraud, Foisset, Cochin, &c., published an article against Infallibility. The article was unsigned, but it was generally suspected that Dupanloup either wrote the article himself or inspired one of his friends with the leading ideas. Though up till this time the bishop of Orleans had taken no part in the discussions, it is not to be assumed that he remained an idle spectator. In August, 1869, he made a tour in Germany, and had long interviews with Döllinger and his friends. It is almost certain that he was the author of an anonymous *brochure* on the Council sent to the German bishops before the meeting at Fulda. After his tour through Germany he returned to his diocese, and in November, 1869, before setting out for the Council, he issued a letter to the clergy of Orleans, in which, while professing his loyal submission to the decisions of the Council, he argued long and trenchantly against both the opportuneness of the definition of Papal Infallibility, and against the doctrine itself. He blamed Louis Veuillot and *L'Univers* for a great deal of the bitterness that had been created, while Mgr. Dechamps of Mechlin and Manning also received a share of his attention. The letter was attacked sharply by *L'Univers* and by many of the French bishops. Mgr. Dechamps issued the first of a series of letters against it in November, 1869.

In Belgium the feeling in favour of Papal Infallibility was general. Mgr. Dechamps, Archbishop of Mechlin, was a prominent supporter of it, and issued a learned pamphlet in support of his opinions (1869), while the archbishop was warmly assisted by the professors of Louvain University. In England Cardinal Manning was recognised as one of the leading men in the movement for the definition, and he was ably helped by Ward in the *Dublin Review*, and by most of the English Catholics. Only the Liberal section, Sir John Acton and his friends, relying mainly upon the Munich School,

opposed Infallibility. Le Page Renouf published a pamphlet on the condemnation of Pope Honorius (1868), and in the same year another of the converts, Edmund S. Ffoulkes, addressed a bitter letter to Archbishop Manning. In Ireland, public opinion was entirely in favour of Infallibility. Whatever about the earlier teaching in Maynooth, Dr. Murray was a strong supporter of Infallibility, as is evident from his work, *De Ecclesia*,* which, although published before 1870, did not require any change or emendation. In the United States and Australia there were hardly any opponents of the definition.

While these controversies were going on the central commission was at work, preparing the general regulations for the Council, and the special commissions were engaged in drafting the *schemata*, which should be submitted to the fathers. The central commission appointed the officials, amongst these being Bishop Fessler, who was named Secretary to the Council. It arranged that the general congregations of the Council should be held in the northern aisle of St. Peter's, and that the fathers should take their seats according to their different ranks, cardinals, patriarchs, primates, archbishops, bishops, abbots, and generals, and in these different groups according to the order of their appointment. They arranged that the fathers of the Council were to select four committees, each consisting of 24 members, to deal with the four classes of subjects to be laid before the Council, namely, faith, discipline, the Oriental Church, and the religious orders. Only the Pope could directly and authoritatively place a matter for discussion before the Council, the others only indirectly through the president and a commission appointed to examine such proposals. When the Council met, the four committees were to be elected. Each of these committees first discussed the *schema* that had been already prepared by one of the preparatory commissions, and they submitted the *schema* for discussion to the general congregation of the Council. If, after due discussion, the

* Published in 1860.

schema was accepted, a public session of the Council could be held at once in the presence of the Pope, and the decree could be solemnly promulgated. If, however, serious changes had to be made, or if the *schema* was rejected entirely, the committee should reconsider the *schema*, and submit it again in an improved form. The voting at the general congregations was by word of mouth, and might be either *Placet*, *Non-Placet*, or *Placet iuxta modum*. The latter formula, which meant that the person so voting favoured the scheme, but demanded certain amendments, could not be employed at the public solemn sessions. In these a person must vote either *Placet* or *Non-Placet*. The auxiliary commissions prepared their *schemata*, and submitted them for approval to the General Congregation, so that before December, 1869, the rules for the transaction of business at the Council, and the *agenda* paper to be laid before the fathers were ready. Special prayers were ordered in Rome and in the whole Church that God might bless the deliberations of the assembly.

In the beginning of December, 1869, Rome was thronged with strangers who came either to take part in the Council or to witness the solemn inauguration ceremonies. On the 2nd December a pre-synodal meeting was held at which the Pope published the brief, *Inter Multiplices*, determining the regulations for the Council, and the officials were publicly appointed. On 8th December, 1869, the solemn opening took place in the Basilica of St. Peter's. Despite the unfavourable weather, and the danger of invasion which even then threatened Rome, the ceremony was of a most striking character. The Council was declared to have begun, and the Second General Session was fixed for the 6th January, 1870. The highest number present at the Vatican Council was 774, 49 of whom were cardinals, 10 patriarchs, 10 primates, 127 archbishops, 529 bishops, 6 abbots *nullius*, 16 general abbots, 26 generals of religious orders, and one apostolic administrator. The total number entitled to be present was about 1,050, so

that about 280 were absent through age or sickness or for some other satisfactory reason. If the Vatican be regarded from the point of view of numbers it is the fourth largest General Council ever held in the Church, being surpassed only by the Second and Fourth Lateran Councils, and the Second Council of Lyons; but in regard to the number of bishops present the Vatican Council is the largest and the most representative Council in the history of the Church. The fathers of the Council were present from nearly every country in the world, so that it could not be said that any part was left without due representation.

Though the question of Infallibility was not yet on the *schemata* to be submitted to the Council, yet the controversies of the previous year had brought it into considerable prominence, and from the very beginning of the Council the friends and opponents of the definition were not idle. Bishop Dupanloup of Orleans was probably the most active of the opponents, and was ably assisted by Cardinal Mathieu of Besançon, and Archbishop Darboy of Paris. Cardinal Schwarzenberg of Prague was regarded as the leader of the German-Austrian opponents, and Dr. Kenrick of St. Louis stood at the head of the American section. Many of these men opposed the definition because they believed that it would alienate the sympathy of many outside the Church who were disposed to inquire into the claims of Catholicity, and might prove a stumbling block, besides, to some Catholics whose judgments had been prejudiced by the liberal tendencies of the age. They considered that the definition of Infallibility was not necessary in the circumstances, and that, therefore, it should not have been raised, and when raised should be postponed.

The most active of the friends of Infallibility were Manning, Dechamps, Martin of Paderborn, and Senestréy of Regensburg. The elections for the four committees were to be held at the general congregation on the 14th December, and both parties drew up lists of candidates especially for the committee on faith. The

candidates put forward by the party supporting Infallibility were nearly all elected. The primate of Austria was perhaps the only man on the committee opposed to the definition. Cardinal Bilio was appointed president of this committee.

The debate on the *schema Constitutionis Dogmaticae*, which dealt with the principal errors of the day, materialism, pantheism, rationalism, and with the Catholic teaching as opposed to the false theories of such schools of thought, was begun on the 28th December. The debate lasted till the 14th January, and during this period thirty-five bishops had spoken for or against the *schema*. The majority of the Council were in favour of accepting it, but many amendments were suggested in order to give it a more practical form. In the end, it was returned to the committee on faith in order that the proposed changes should be made, and the discussion on ecclesiastical discipline began.

Though the question of Papal Infallibility had raised such bitter controversies it was not included in the *schemata* prepared for discussion, nor was it yet formally before the Council. In December Archbishop Dechamps of Mechlin sent in a request to the congregation appointed to deal with such proposals, that Papal Infallibility should be defined by the Council, and he was supported by the Belgian bishops, and by the professors of Louvain. About the same time the leading supporters of Infallibility, Dechamps, Manning, Martin of Paderborn, Senestréy of Regensburg, Spalding of Baltimore, &c., agreed that a petition, demanding the definition should be prepared and circulated in order to obtain the signature of the fathers. It was signed by 380, and about 100 other bishops signed other petitions of a similar kind, so that altogether about 480 of the fathers requested that Papal Infallibility should be placed upon the *schemata*. On the other hand, the opponents of Infallibility were not idle. Cardinal Schwarzenberg of Prague, Cardinal Rauscher of Vienna, Strossmayer of Diakovár, Darboy of Paris, and Dupanloup of Orleans,

were particularly active. Instead of one common petition against the definition, five separate ones were sent in. The first of these from the German, Austrian, and Hungarian bishops bore the signature of 64 fathers, the second, mainly from the French and Portuguese, was signed by 40, the third, from the Italians by 7, the fourth, mainly from the North Americans, England and Ireland, by 23, and the fifth, from the Orientals, by 16. The prominent American bishops against Infallibility were Kenrick of St. Louis, Purcell of Cincinnati, Connolly of Halifax, and M'Closkey of New York. The two Irish bishops who signed this counter petition were Moriarty of Kerry, and Leahy of Dromore, while the two English signatures were those of Errington, the former coadjutor of Westminster, and Clifford of Clifton. The two petitions were considered by the Congregation charged with the examination of such proposals on the 9th February, 1870, and, with the exception of Cardinal Rauscher of Vienna, all the members of the Congregation voted in favour of Papal Infallibility being included in the programme of the Council. Pius IX. approved of their decision.

The debate on ecclesiastical discipline began on the 14th January. The matters dealt with referred principally to the duties of bishops, their obligations of residence, of holding regular visitations, and synods, both diocesan and provincial. Afterwards the discussions on the duties of the clergy began, and the question of publishing one common catechism for use in the entire Church. Owing mainly to the sharp division amongst the fathers on Papal Infallibility the debates were very protracted, and without much fruit. No definite canons were arrived at, and many began to fear that unless some change in the method of procedure were adopted the Council could never hope to do any good work. Finally, on the 22nd March, a brief was read from the Pope, prescribing several important changes in the rules for conducting discussion. The most notable of these was the one by which the Pope empowered the presidents of the

congregation, at the written request of ten fathers, to put the question of closing the debate to the congregation. If the majority approved of the closure, the debate must cease, and the votes must be taken. The *schema* on discipline was returned to the committee, and from the 22nd February till the 18th March no general congregations were held. During this period the committee on faith was busy at work on the *schema*, *De Fide Catholica*, and changes were being made in the Council hall so as to render it more easy for all the fathers to hear the different speakers.

The committee on faith had been busy at work rearranging the *schema*, *De Doctrina Christiana*, which had been returned to them on the 10th January. They were assisted by several theologians, notably Kleutgen and Franzelin. On the 14th March the first part of the new *schema*, entitled *Constitutio Dogmatica de fide Catholica*, was distributed among the fathers. The debate began on the 18th March, and owing mainly to the new procedure was productive of more fruit than those which had gone before. On the 19th April the constitution was passed, and on the 24th April the third public session was held in the presence of the Pope, when the constitution was solemnly proclaimed. The constitution dealt with God, with man's knowledge of God, with revelation, the inspiration of the scriptures, faith, and with the relations of faith to human reason.

The excitement both within and without the Council became greater every day, especially among the French and the Germans. The greater part of the German and Austrian bishops were opposed to the definition, but their opposition was based principally on the dangers of such a definition in Germany rather than on objections to the doctrine itself. About one-third of the episcopate in France were in the ranks of the minority against Infallibility, but they, too, professed, as did, indeed, nearly all on the same side, that they opposed it not for doctrinal but for prudential reasons. Possibly, too, a false notion of patriotism led some of them to resist the condemnation of

Gallicanism. Archbishop Darboy of Paris, and Dupanloup, were the leaders of the French minority, and they seem to have spared no pains to secure a victory for their views. For such a result they would have welcomed even the direct interference of the French government. But the vast body of the clergy and people of France were sound on the question of Infallibility, as was shown by the subscriptions raised in France to defray the expenses of the Council, and by the number of addresses in favour of Infallibility that poured in from France, even from the priests of the dioceses, the bishops of which were most strenuous in resisting the definition.

Several sharp controversies broke out in France during the Council. Archbishop Dechamps of Mechlin, and Bishop Dupanloup of Orleans, carried on a public correspondence. But possibly the letters that attracted the most attention, and were most widely read were those of the French Oratorian, Père Gratry, against Mgr. Dechamps. The letters were remarkable for their boldness of statement and lively style rather than for soundness or accuracy, and by the very confidence with which the writer charged ecclesiastical authors with ignorance or deception were well calculated to stir up strife. He received the congratulations of men like Strossmayer, but the majority of the French bishops were very severe in their condemnation of Gratry's letters. It is only fair to say that after the definition he withdrew his statements, submitted unconditionally to the decision, and died a fervent Catholic. Amongst those who offered him their felicitations after the publication of his attacks upon the Council many Catholics noted with pain the presence of the great Catholic champion of former days, Montalembert. His letter to Père Gratry was peculiarly offensive in its tone, and gave great pain to Pius IX. It was particularly unfortunate that Montalembert died shortly after (21st Feb., 1870) without having publicly withdrawn his remarks, but before his death he informed his wife that if the Council were to define Papal Infallibility he

would willingly submit to its decision.* Two articles were printed in Paris, one entitled *La Situation des choses à Rome*, in the columns of the *Moniteur*, and the other in pamphlet form, *Ce qui se passe au Concile*, both of which were calculated to give very erroneous impressions of affairs at the Council, and of the action of the majority. Some of the French bishops were strongly suspected of having at least inspired these articles, and Archbishop Darboy certainly recommended them to Napoleon as giving very useful information about the proceedings in the Vatican.†

In Germany Döllinger continued his unbridled campaign. From the 16th December, 1869, till the 19th July, 1870, a series of sixty-nine articles, entitled *Römische Briefe*, appeared in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*. They were intended to stir up the German people against the acceptance of Papal Infallibility, and for this purpose the writer spared no misrepresentation and abuse. His attacks were directed against the Pope, the bishops who favoured Infallibility, the rules of procedure, and the arguments used in favour of the definition. These letters were afterwards published in book form by *Quirinus*. Döllinger had probably a large share in the production of these letters, but the information was supplied mainly by Friedrich, the theologian of Cardinal Hohenlohe, and by Sir John Acton.‡ In January, 1870, Döllinger published an appeal against Infallibility, in which all the arguments that might be urged from history against the doctrine were put forward in their most exaggerated form. His appeal had a great effect in Germany. The civil authorities of the city of Munich at once offered him the freedom of the city, and addresses of congratulation poured in upon him from all parts of the country, notably from the universities of Breslau, Bonn, Prague, and from the academies of Münster and Braunsberg. Very able replies were issued by Hergenröther of Würzburg, Scheeben,

* Granderath, *op. cit.*, Vol. III., p. 601.

† *Idem.*, II., p. 554.

‡ *Idem.*, II., pp. 599-602.

Stöckl, Zahn, and Cecconi, and the bishops of Germany publicly disassociated themselves from the Döllinger campaign. The excitement was still kept up mainly by lying reports about the Council circulated in the German Liberal newspapers, and associations were formed to resist the "Roman novelties." The movement spread into Switzerland, and was not confined to those outside the Church. The Liberal Catholics of Switzerland tried to organise addresses to Dr. Greith, Bishop of St. Gall, who was the only Swiss bishop to resist Infallibility, but Dr. Greith discountenanced such a step. They founded a Liberal Catholic paper to sustain their views, and most of the priests who afterwards joined the Old Catholic party in Switzerland were contributors to this journal.

Nearly all the leading newspapers had correspondents in Rome during the Council, and the reports from these correspondents tended to increase the excitement. In the absence of reliable information all kinds of wild rumours were put in circulation, and even earnest Catholics were gravely troubled. In Germany and Austria the *Allgemeine Zeitung* of Augsburg, and the *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna, contributed their share in manufacturing and retailing scandals about the proceedings in Rome, while in England, where fortunately the bulk of the Catholic people and clergy were undisturbed, the *Times* and the *Saturday Review* conducted a highly discreditable campaign. The *Spectator* was nearly the only English Protestant paper that maintained an impartial and, at times, even a sympathetic attitude.

On the 6th March, 1870, the question of Papal Infallibility was included in an addition to the *schema*, *De Ecclesia Christi*, which had already been issued to the fathers. But in the ordinary course of events the discussion on Infallibility might have been indefinitely postponed. The second *schema*, *De Fide*, that on discipline, and the greater portion of the *schema*, *De Ecclesia*, had precedence. The majority of the bishops were of the opinion that on account of the excitement

which raged round Papal Infallibility the question should be discussed and determined immediately. Besides, they foresaw the danger of a Piedmontese invasion and the prorogation of the Council, and they dreaded the consequences of an indefinite postponement of the definition after it had become the subject of such bitter controversies. Hence, in March, several petitions were sent to Cardinal Bilio, president of the committee on faith, requesting that the Infallibility of the Pope should be taken out of its ordinary course, and submitted to the Council without delay. The minority of the fathers objected to any such interference with the course of business, and Cardinal Bilio was rather inclined to favour their representations. But the representatives of the majority appealed directly to the Pope, and on the 27th April the Cardinal President announced to the members of the committee on faith that the *schema*, *De Romano Pontifice* should be taken up. The decision was approved by all the members with two exceptions. The decision was announced to the general congregation on the 29th April, and seventy-one bishops signed a protest against it to be presented to the Holy Father. The committee on faith proceeded to consider the suggestions that had been sent in, and to draft the formal decrees. There was great difficulty in finding an acceptable formula for the definition of Papal Infallibility. Some proposed that it should be defined that the Pope was infallible to the same extent as the Church itself was infallible, but as the object of the Church's infallibility had not yet been defined, Cardinal Bilio suggested that it should be stated merely that the Pope was infallible whenever, as Supreme Pastor, he taught that something should be accepted by the whole Church as *de fide divina*, or something should be rejected as opposed to divine faith. This formula, though it seemed to limit the sphere of Papal Infallibility very considerably, was agreeable to most of the committee except to Manning and Senestréy, and it was determined to submit the matter to the general congregation where other amendments might be made.

On the 13th May the general debate began in the Council, on the four chapters of the *schema*, *De Romano Pontifice*. It lasted from the 13th May till the 13th June, during which time fourteen general congregations were held, and sixty-four speeches made by bishops from all parts of the world. The principal speakers in favour of Infallibility were Cardinal Patrizzi, Garcia Gil, archbishop of Saragossa, Dechamps of Mechlin, Manning of Westminster, Cullen of Dublin, and Spalding of Baltimore, while the most notable opponents were Darboy of Paris, Schwarzenberg of Prague, Rauscher of Vienna, Strossmayer of Diokovár, Hefele of Rottenburg, Clifford of Clifton, MacHale of Tuam, Connolly of Halifax, and Greith of St. Gall. The opponents, as a rule, professed only to speak against the opportuneness of such a definition, but in reality a great portion of their arguments was directed against the doctrine itself. On the 13th June Cardinal de Angelis put the question of the closure to the meeting, and the vast majority voted in favour of closing the general debate. A protest was lodged against this proceeding by Cardinals Mathieu, Schwarzenberg and Rauscher in the name of eighty-one bishops.

During these months besides the debates in the general congregations a war of pamphlets was carried on briskly outside the Council. The most remarkable of those issued against Infallibility were those of Rauscher, Hefele, and Kenrick of St. Louis. Another, published in Paris, defending the view that Infallibility could not be defined unless the fathers were, practically speaking, unanimous, attracted a great deal of attention. The necessity of moral unanimity for a conciliar definition was strongly supported by the opponents of Infallibility. They relied principally upon the dictum of St. Vincent of Lerins, *Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*, on the supposed testimony of Bellarmine, and the procedure of the Council of Trent, but against such a view the testimony of common sense, and the history of previous General Councils furnished invincible arguments.

The special debate on the particular chapters of the

schema opened on the 6th June, and on the 2nd July the first two chapters were passed. On the 11th July the third chapter was accepted, and now only the fourth chapter dealing with Papal Infallibility remained. The difficulty of finding a suitable formula for the definition of Papal Infallibility still continued. The theologians, Franzelin and Kleutgen, were called into consultation, but without any result. At last Dr. Cullen, of Dublin, proposed a formula (18th June) which, with a few slight changes, gave general satisfaction. The debate over the Papal Infallibility was long, and at times heated. All the leading supporters and opponents of the definition explained their views. On the 13th July the voting on the whole chapters of the *schema* took place, and out of the 601 Fathers present 451 voted *Placet*, 88 *non-Placet*, and 62 *Placet iuxta modum*. The public session for the solemn ratification of the decrees was fixed for the 18th July, and during the intervening days the minority made strenuous efforts to secure the insertion of their amendments in the text, or to get the solemn definition postponed. Six of their number, Darboy (Paris), Ginoulhiac (Lyons), Simor (Gran), Scherr (Munich), Ketteler (Mayence), and Rivet (Dijon), went on a deputation to Pius IX. to induce him to make certain changes in the proposed decrees, but the Pope declined to interfere with the decisions of the Council. Dupanloup suggested in a letter to the Pope that after the votes had been taken the solemn ratification should be postponed till some more favourable occasion, but his suggestion was not accepted. The minority were, therefore, obliged to make up their minds either to attend the public session, and vote against the definition, or to take their departure from Rome before the session could be held. As the vast body of them did not wish to create dissension or to give pain to the Holy Father, they resolved to leave Rome.

On the morning of the 18th July the public session was held. Of the fathers present, 533 voted *Placet*, and only two, Fitzgerald of Little Rock, and Riccio of Cajazzo in Sicily, voted *non-Placet*. When the votes were counted

Pius IX. solemnly promulgated the decree, and the two bishops who had voted against the definition immediately expressed their adhesion to the decree.

From this day the interest in the proceedings of the General Council gradually lessened. War was declared between France and Germany on the 19th July, and most of the fathers took their departure from Rome. It was well known that an invasion of the city by Victor Emmanuel might be expected immediately. The debate on the *schema* on discipline was begun, but it was not concluded when the city was surrounded by the forces of Italy. On the 20th October Pius IX. issued a decree proroguing the Council. Some of the Fathers, notably Manning, Cullen, and Spalding (Baltimore), were anxious that the Council should continue its work in Mechlin, but the plan did not find any support.

There was great anxiety in some quarters in regard to the position of the bishops who voted in the minority, but, as events proved, this anxiety was groundless. The bishops of Germany on their return home were in a peculiarly difficult position. Many of their own body had laboured strenuously against the definition, and whether belonging to the majority or minority in the Council they could not fail to recognise that the agitation against Infallibility was assuming alarming proportions. It was decided by the bishops to hold a national assembly of their body at Fulda on the 18th August, 1870, and from this meeting a pastoral letter was issued to the German Catholics proclaiming the dogma of Infallibility. The letter was signed by all the bishops except five, four of whom immediately issued individual pastorals of a similar character. Hefele, who had been the most extreme of the German bishops against the definition, and who was in constant correspondence with Döllinger, wavered for a time, but at length on the 10th April, 1871, he published the decree on Papal Infallibility. The bishops of Austria loyally accepted the decree, as did the bishops in France. Dupanloup wrote a special letter of submission to Pius IX. as did Maret, the dean of the

Sorbonne. Darboy, the archbishop of Paris, declared his adhesion to the doctrine. The few bishops in England, Ireland and America, who considered the definition inopportune, willingly accepted it once it had been ratified by the Pope. Dr. Kenrick of St. Louis did not, however, retract certain pamphlets which he had written during the Council, and which had given great offence.

The majority of the priests and people imitated the example of their bishops. In France practically only two of the clergy fell away from the Church, Père Hyacinth and the Abbé Michaud. But in Germany, owing mainly to the campaign conducted by Döllinger, there was a stronger opposition.* The archbishop of Munich, on his return from the Council, assembled the members of the theological faculty at Munich, and implored them to forget the past, and join hands as of old in defence of the Church, but his entreaties were received by the majority with coldness. An address of protest against the Vatican decrees was issued by forty-four lay professors. On the 25th August, 1870, a meeting of the clerical opponents was held at Nürnberg, under the presidency of Döllinger. There were present besides, Reischl and Friedrich from Munich, Reusch, Langen and Knoodt from Bonn, Baltzer and Reinkens from Breslau, Dittrich and Michelis from Braunsberg, Löwe, Sales, Mayer and von Schulte from Prague. The last named was a layman. They issued a protest against Infallibility.

The position of the archbishop of Munich was very trying on account of the attitude of the university. In October, 1870, he wrote to the professors of the theological faculty requesting an expression of their views on the recent decrees. Seven of them, amongst whom was Reischl, wrote a joint letter expressing their complete adhesion to the decrees, and the professor of canon law did likewise. Friedrich replied refusing submission, and Döllinger kept silent. In January the archbishop

* For the Old Catholics, cf. :—Schulte, *Der Altkatholizismus*, Giessen, 1887. Friedberg, *Aktenstücke die Altkathol. Bewegung Betreff.*, &c., Tübingen, 1876. Friedrich, *Ignaz von Döllinger*, 2 Bde., Munich, 1891-1901. Michael, *Ignaz von Döllinger*, Innsbruck, 1892.

again implored Döllinger to submit, and towards the end of the month Döllinger wrote asking for more time for consideration. After repeated delays he replied finally on the 28th March, refusing to submit. The ecclesiastical students were forbidden to attend his course, and as he still remained obdurate in his refusal, the decree of excommunication was issued against him (17th April, 1871), and two days later, the same sentence was published against Professor Friedrich.

Bonn was another great centre of resistance, and after the definition had been promulgated, some of the professors in Bonn were particularly active in stirring up opposition. In September, 1870, the archbishop of Cologne requested the professors of the theological faculty in Bonn, who had opposed the decrees, to explain their position, and on their refusing to give satisfactory replies, Hilgers, Langen, Reusch and Knoodt were suspended. The archbishop made repeated efforts to induce them to submit, and it was only when they had definitely joined the Old Catholic party that the sentence of excommunication was issued against them in March, 1872. Dieringer separated himself from the others, and made his submission (January, 1871), but his position at Bonn was so difficult that he retired from the university. The bishop of Ermeland was obliged to take severe measures against Professors Michelis and Menzil of Braunsberg, and Baltzer and Reinkens of Breslau were suspended and excommunicated (1872).

The governments of Europe refused to accept the suggestions of Bavaria, and decided to allow the Council to proceed without any interference, but the ambassadors were ordered to watch the proceedings closely, and to keep their governments well informed on the course of events. Austria and Prussia maintained this attitude throughout, though both countries favoured the minority, and though Count Arnim, the Prussian ambassador, made frantic appeals to Bismarck to be permitted to intervene. In English government circles the letters of Sir John Acton were calculated to produce a very

unfavourable impression, but Dr. Manning was able to neutralise such influences by his conversations with Odo Russell, the English diplomatic agent in Rome.* The attitude of France to the Council was most important, as the withdrawal of the French troops in Rome might have proved disastrous for its further continuance. M. Ollivier was called upon to form a ministry in January, 1870, and though personally friendly to the minority, he realised that the majority of the French bishops, and the whole body of the clergy and people supported the definition. Hence, he decided to take no action. But M. Daru, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the intimate friend of Père Gratry and Mgr. Dupanloup, was of a different mind; and in a despatch sent in February he took up a decidedly threatening attitude. Fortunately, however, owing to political disagreements, he tendered his resignation in April, 1870, and Ollivier was free to carry out his policy of non-intervention. Some of the minority, especially Darboy and Gratry, sought to win over Napoleon III., but their efforts failed, and the troops of France remained in Rome till the definition had been promulgated.

After the definition France maintained its friendly attitude, and offered no objections to the promulgation of the decrees. Spain, Portugal, and Belgium adopted a similar line of action. Italy raised no formal objections, but contented itself with issuing a cryptic despatch to its officials about safeguarding the clauses of the penal code. Austria took up a hostile attitude, rejected the concordat of 1855, and tried to enforce the *Placitum Regis*, as did also Bavaria. The smaller states of Germany, Baden, Würtemberg, &c., opposed the decrees, while Switzerland was most extreme in its opposition.

The opposition to the definition had been so bitter in

* Cf., Purcell's *Life of Manning*, Vol. II., pp. 432-448. Morley's *Life of Gladstone*, Vol. III., pp. 509-12.

Germany, Austria and Switzerland that it could hardly be expected that all parties would follow the example of the bishops and submit to the decrees. The Munich School were the leaders of the rebellion, as they had been the leaders in the opposition, and the efforts of Döllinger and Friedrich of Munich were ably seconded by Hilgers, Reusch, Langen, and Knoodt of Bonn and Reinkens of Breslau. Professor Michelis of Braunsberg made a tour in Germany, Austria and Switzerland in order to stir up resistance, and von Schulte, the professor of Canon Law in Prague, gave his party great help in their negotiations with the different governments. Committees were formed in Cologne for North Germany, and in Munich for the southern states. The governments of Prussia, Bavaria, Austria, Baden, and Hesse gave the party every assistance, and the professors who refused to submit were retained in their chairs despite the protests of the bishops.

In September, 1871, a conference of the opponents of the definition was held at Munich. Representatives were present from all parts of Germany, and the English and Russian Churches also sent delegates. The orthodoxy of the Jansenist sect in Holland was recognised, and negotiations were opened up for union with the Russian and English churches. On the motion of Professor von Schulte it was agreed to organise an independent sect. Döllinger made an earnest appeal to the meeting not to raise up altar against altar, but to remain, as they claimed to be, members of the Catholic Church. He was supported only by Professors Cornelius and Stumpf, and on the resolution of von Schulte being carried Döllinger refused to have any part in the new sect, and remained isolated from both parties. Loos, the Jansenist bishop of Utrecht, was invited to administer the sacrament of Confirmation in Germany, and made a tour through the country in June and July, 1872.

At the second congress held in Cologne (Sept., 1872) the rules for the new organisation were drafted, and a committee appointed to arrange for the election of a

bishop. The principal members of this committee were Friedrich, Michelis, Reusch, von Schulte and Maassen; while, at the same time, another committee was appointed to work for the re-union of the Christian sects. Döllinger was the leading man on this committee. Bismarck was consulted as to the wisdom of electing a bishop, and gave his consent; and a meeting of the representatives of the new sect was summoned at Bonn. Twenty-two priests and fifty-five laymen took part in the assembly. The total number of Old Catholic priests in Germany at that time was about thirty-eight. Professor Reinkens received sixty-nine votes, and was declared duly elected. He proceeded to Rotterdam, where he was consecrated on 11th August, 1873, by Heydekamp, the Jansenist bishop of Deventer. He issued a pastoral on the day of his consecration, in which he defended the method of his election, and claimed to be the only legitimate Catholic bishop in Germany. Pius IX. excommunicated him on the 11th November, but in spite of the sentence of excommunication he was officially recognised by Prussia, Baden, and Hesse, and the two former voted large sums of money for his support. Bavaria allowed Dr. Reinkens to make visitations, and to administer confirmation, though his jurisdiction was not formally recognised.

Prussia and Baden also passed laws, according to which the Old Catholics were to get the partial or exclusive use of some of the churches, and were entitled to receive a share of the Church property (1874). In March, 1875, Pius IX. issued an instruction forbidding the Catholics to hold any services in churches in which the government permitted the Old Catholic clergy to officiate. In consequence of these measures very many of the churches in Prussia and Baden passed into the hands of the Old Catholics. The sect established itself on the lines of the Protestant churches with a synod composed both of clergy and laymen, a synodal commission of a similar kind, and a bishop whose main duty was to confirm and ordain clergy. At the annual synods

changes were made regarding confession, fasting and holidays in 1874; and in 1875, in order to promote union with Protestants, Tradition was more or less abandoned, the authority of the deuterocanonical books was questioned, indulgences were rejected, the Mass and the Sacraments were explained in a very un-Catholic way, the apostolic succession was recognised in the English Church, and to please the Greeks the Greek formula was accepted in place of the *Filioque*. The vernacular ritual and liturgy were permitted. But for many years the question of the celibacy of the clergy led to long and heated discussions. The governments of Prussia and Baden were consulted on this subject in 1877, but they refused to interfere. The Jansenists warned the Old Catholics against a married clergy, and the Bavarian representatives declared that they would never accept such a change. Notwithstanding their efforts, a resolution was carried in 1878 permitting the Old Catholic clergy to marry. The bishop, five priests, and sixteen laymen voted against it, while nineteen priests and fifty-six laymen voted in its favour. In 1880, the use of the German liturgy was made universal and obligatory. The total number of Old Catholics in the German Empire in 1880 was something less than 50,000.

The Old Catholic sect in Germany was dependent entirely for support upon the civil authorities, and during the Kulturkampf Bismarck and his followers gave them every assistance. But as the governments began to recognise that the vast majority of the Catholics had no sympathy with the sect, and as the bitterness of the struggle with the Church began to pass away, the civil authorities showed less interest in the Old Catholic movement. As a result, many of those who had fallen away returned to the Church; while those who remained, influenced by Protestantism and Rationalism, drifted more and more from the Catholic doctrine. The Prussian government continues its financial support to the Old Catholic bishop of Germany, who resides at Bonn; conferences of the body are held annually, but

the failure of the movement is recognised by all parties. In the official census returns the Old Catholics are not distinguished from the Catholics, and, hence, it is difficult to determine accurately their total numbers.

In Austria the opposition to the definition was very violent, but the action of the Austrian and Hungarian bishops helped to calm the excitement. The government, which was already Liberal at that period, rejected the concordat, forbade the bishops to publish the decrees, and afforded every assistance to the opponents of Infallibility. But the number of Old Catholics in Austria was never large. They refused to recognise the jurisdiction of the German Old Catholic bishop, but, at the same time, they erected a parish in Vienna, and entrusted it to one of their priests, Aloysius Anton. The government refused at first to recognise them as a legal religious body, but at last, owing mainly to the action of Professor von Schulte, formal recognition was accorded them in 1878. Having received legal recognition they proceeded to elect a synodal commission to superintend their organisation in Austria; but they have never elected a bishop. The movement followed the same downward course as in Germany, and at present nobody takes any serious notice of the Austrian Old Catholics. According to the census of 1900 they formed 0.1 per cent. of the total population of Austria.

Nowhere outside Germany was the opposition to Infallibility more violent than in Switzerland, but after the definition only three priests refused to submit, the most prominent of whom was Herzog. The governments of the Protestant cantons, Berne and Basle, spared no pains to protect the refractory clergy against the censures of the bishops, and the most violent measures were used against the Catholic priests. It was hoped that the Old Catholic movement might be utilised for the establishment of a national church wide enough for all classes of Christians. By a law passed in 1874 the schism was officially recognised, and the Old Catholics taken under the protection of the government.

In the same year it was decided to establish an Old Catholic faculty of theology at Berne, and a commission consisting of Herzog and the two Protestant professors, Rippold and Müller, was appointed to draft a scheme. In November the faculty of theology, of which Dr. Friedrich was appointed dean, opened their course of lectures. Two members of the faculty were Protestants of the most liberal type. Only eight students presented themselves, though the government pledged itself to give the theological students considerable financial assistance. After 1878 the persecution began to die away, and the Catholics were strong enough to outvote the new sect at the election for the local ecclesiastical committees. The result was that the Old Catholics lost their influence at Berne, and most of the churches they had captured were returned to their original owners. In Geneva the persecution of the Catholics was particularly severe, and as the clergy refused to take the oath prescribed for them, they were expelled from the city, and Père Hyacinth was installed as parish priest of Geneva. The churches throughout the canton were taken from the Catholics and handed over to the schismatical body. In other parts of Switzerland too, Old Catholic parishes were formed.

Several attempts were made to unite all the Old Catholic bodies in Switzerland under a common organisation. In an assembly held at Berne in 1874 the titles Old Catholic and Liberal Catholic were rejected, and it was determined to adopt the designation "Christian Catholic National Church." In 1875, the scheme of organisation was accepted by the delegates, and in 1876 Herzog was elected bishop. He was consecrated by Dr. Reinkens in September, and took up his residence in Berne. Many of the Protestant cantons officially recognised him, and Geneva and Berne voted money for his support. In the same year the use of the vernacular language in the liturgy was allowed; confession was abolished, as was also clerical celibacy. During the succeeding years most of the other distinctively

Catholic practices and beliefs were gradually abandoned in the hope of effecting a union with the Protestant churches of England, America and Scotland, while, on the other hand, many of the people who had joined the sect, disgusted by such a policy, returned to the Catholic Church. The sect continues to maintain itself in Switzerland, but it is at present hardly distinguishable from the Protestant bodies. In Italy attempts were made to found a "Catholic national church." A clergyman named Panelli was elected bishop, but his previous history gave no hope that he was likely to have much success. The attempt, as might be expected, ended in complete failure. In France Père Hyacinth after many wanderings, settled in Paris, and declared himself rector of the Gallican Catholic Church (1879). Two priests joined him, and immense sums were subscribed in England and America to assist him in his propaganda, but, as in Italy and Spain, the movement found little sympathy amongst the population for which it was intended.

(c) LEO XIII., PIUS X.

De T'Serclaes, *Léon XIII., son Action Politique et Sociale*, 3 vols., Lille, 1894-1907. Spahn, *Leo XIII.*, Munich, 1905. Ricard, *Léon XIII.*, Paris, 1895. Reilly, *Life of Leo XIII.*, London, 1887. O'Byrne, *Life and Pontificate of Leo XIII.*, London, 1903; *Life of Pius X.*, New York, 1904. Marchesan, *Papst Pius X.*, 2 vols., 1905-6. King, *Italy To-Day*, London, 1901. Prior, *Is the Pope Independent?* Rome, 1907. Orsi, *op. cit.*

Pius IX. died on the 7th February, 1878. It was feared by many that during the interregnum the Italian government might attempt to seize the Vatican, and to interfere with the liberty of the conclave, but the Italian statesmen were too prudent to attempt such a course. The conclave hall was prepared in the Vatican under the direction of Cardinal Pecci; and after the usual time for the obsequies of Pius IX. had elapsed sixty-one

cardinals entered the conclave on the 17th February, 1878. The cardinals having drawn up a solemn protest against the occupation of the Papal States proceeded to the election of a Pope. From the beginning Cardinal Pecci was a favourite candidate. The number of votes cast in his favour steadily increased, till, at length, on the 20th February, the required majority was secured, and he was proclaimed under the title of Leo XIII.

The new Pope, Vincenzo Gioacchino Pecci was born at Carpineto, in the Papal States, in March, 1810, and was educated at the Jesuit Colleges in Viterbo and in Rome. In 1837, he received the priesthood, and was appointed Papal delegate at Benevento, where he had a sharp struggle to suppress the roving bands of brigands. In January, 1843, he was appointed nuncio in Belgium, where he remained till his recall in 1845. The following year he was selected as bishop of Perugia. As bishop of Perugia, the future Pope was indefatigable in his labours on behalf of education and religion, and his pastoral instructions attracted widespread attention. In 1854, Pius IX. created him a cardinal, and in 1877, appointed him cardinal camerlengo; an office which imposed upon him the duty of preparing for the conclave. The election of Leo XIII. was well received by all parties, and very different views were expressed as to the line of policy he would propound.

The situation of the Papacy at that particular juncture was exceedingly critical. Besides the difficulties with the new kingdom of Italy, all official relations had been broken off with Germany and Russia. Austria, dominated at the time by the Liberal party, carried on a hostile campaign against the Church. The Republican party of the Gambetta school in France had proclaimed war upon religion, and were gradually concentrating all the powers of the state in the hands of their party. Spain was torn by political division between the friends of the reigning dynasty and their Carlist opponents, while the state of religion in Portugal could not afford much consolation to the new Pope. The war between Capital and

Labour was being waged with unexampled bitterness, and to the no small danger of religious interests. Modern governments, under the influence of the current liberal theories, were gradually repudiating the Christian principles in regard to family life, marriage and education, which had been formerly regarded as the basis of civil society; while, over all, was heard the cry that the Catholic Church was the enemy of progress and enlightenment. Pius IX., it was asserted, had bidden defiance to the modern world, and the modern world had responded to his challenge by repudiating the doctrines and discipline of the Catholic Church.

Leo XIII. made no secret of the fact that he intended to adopt a policy of conciliation, to re-establish good relations between the Papacy and the civil powers; and most of the governments of Europe gladly responded to his friendly overtures. It was only in Italy that the struggle went on between the Papacy and the invaders of the Papal States without any hopes of a satisfactory issue. Like his predecessor, Leo XIII. refused to acknowledge the validity of the title by which the kingdom of Italy held Rome and the Papal States. He remained shut up in the Vatican territory, disregarded the Law of Guarantees, protested against the action of the usurpers, and renewed the advice to the Catholic people of Italy to abstain from voting at Parliamentary elections, lest by their doing so they might seem to acknowledge the legality of the government (1878, 1881, 1886). Nor can it be said that the Italian government left any other policy open to the Pope. From 1876 the Left were in power in Italy with Depretis as Prime Minister. They were bitterly hostile to the Holy See, and took no measures to encourage a friendly settlement of the difficulties between the Vatican and the Quirinal. The royal *Exequatur* on the appointment of bishops, by means of which the government refused to hand over the revenues of the bishoprics to those appointed by the Pope, without the approval of the king, and the rights of patronage which the king of Italy claimed over many

of the Italian bishoprics, notably those in Piedmont, Sardinia, Naples and Sicily, were a source of constant friction between the Pope and the government during the whole reign of Leo XIII.

Till 1881, however, Leo XIII. did not adopt an unfriendly attitude. But in that year occurred the painful scenes in connection with the funeral of Pius IX., when an organised attempt was made to throw the coffin of the late Pope into the Tiber (13th July, 1881). Such a disgraceful incident created a great sensation throughout the world, and helped to show the worthlessness of the Law of Guarantees. The Pope, in his allocution (4th Aug.), protested against such violence, and his protests were warmly supported by a section of the Italian people. The suppression of the religious orders, the appropriation of the goods of the Church, the glorification of Gambetta after his death in 1882, and the erection of a statue in Brescia to Arnold of Brescia, in the presence of a delegate of the king and four Cabinet Ministers, helped to increase the bitterness of the struggle. The lawsuit begun by one of the Vatican employees, Martinucci, who had been dismissed, and the decision of the civil courts that they had jurisdiction in the case, showed that, in spite of the Law of Guarantees, the government meant to treat the Pope as a subject, and the Vatican as Italian territory. Cardinal Jacobini, Secretary of State, issued a protest to the powers against such a claim (1882).* The government, too, insisted on applying to the property of the Propaganda the law regarding ecclesiastical goods, and of converting it into Italian securities. Considering the low state of Italian finances at the time, this change meant a serious loss to the funds of the Propaganda; and, besides, the property of the Congregation of the Propaganda should have been considered as international rather than Italian. The courts, however, decided otherwise, and in 1884 the change was carried out.†

* T'Serclaes, *op. cit.*, Chap. XV.

† Prior, *op. cit.*, Chap. V.

In 1887, Depretis died, and Signor Crispi became Prime Minister. A regular campaign was begun, under the inspiration of the freemason lodges against the Church. In 1888, the penal code of Zanardelli was introduced. According to this code (Art. 101) everybody who did anything to put the state, or any part of the state, under foreign domination, or to alter the unity of the state, was to be condemned to perpetual imprisonment with hard labour. Any clergyman who abused his ministry to excite contempt for the Italian laws or institutions, or to attack the acts of authority, was to be fined and temporarily deprived of his benefice (Art. 174), and any priest who performed acts of public worship contrary to the rules laid down for him by the government was to be fined and imprisoned for three months (Art. 175). The bishops and clergy denounced such a penal law, and the Pope protested against it in an allocution delivered in June, 1888, but in the same month the measure became law. Decrees were also issued against religious education in the Italian schools; and the congregational teaching in the Italian schools in the East was laicised (1888).

In 1889, a statue was erected in honour of the apostate monk, Giordano Bruno, and on the 9th June the monument was to be unveiled. All the freemason lodges of Italy sent their contingents to the celebration, and for days, to the great pain of most of the inhabitants, the streets of Rome rang with denunciations of the Pope and of the clergy. The members of the ministry, though secretly abetting the movement, were obliged, in public decency, to take no part in the celebrations. Signor Crispi was particularly cynical in his attitude towards the Vatican, and in 1890 the ministerial organs declared that the Pope had no territory of his own, that the Italian government had merely given him the use of the Vatican palace. When the Pope was obliged to impose a small tax upon visitors to the Vatican galleries (1890) his action was denounced as being opposed to the Law of Guarantees. The Italian religious confraternities and charit-

able societies were possessed of considerable wealth owing to the donations made to them for the support of their good works. Under the pretence of laicising charitable works in Italy, the goods of these confraternities were seized, and placed at the disposal of the state, and by the same law priests were prohibited from taking seats on the boards of charity.

In 1891, Crispi went out of office, and was succeeded by Di Rudini, who was much more moderate, but he was unable to keep his groups together, and Signor Giolotti was called upon to form a ministry. Italian political administration had now reached its lowest ebb. Corruption in government circles was universal, and the bank scandals opened the eyes of the world to the condition of things in Italy. Then came the rebellion in Sicily and in other parts of the kingdom with which the ministry was not able to deal. It became necessary to recall Signor Crispi and invest him with almost dictatorial powers. To divert public attention he pushed forward the colonial policy of Italy, but the overwhelming defeat inflicted upon the army of Italy by the Emperor Menelik of Abyssinia at Adowa put an end to the dreams of Italian colonisation. The country was sick of such administration, and, as a result, the strength of the Socialist party increased by leaps and bounds.*

The Catholics who obeyed the orders of the Pope, and accepted the formula, "*ne eletti, ne elettori*," had been organising their forces, and had adopted a programme of social reform. They had started co-operative societies and co-operative banks over the country, and in the municipal and district elections their success in 1894 was astonishing. For a while it seemed as if Signor Crispi was anxious to make a bargain with them in order to secure their assistance against the Socialists and Radicals, while, on the other hand, the Radicals strove hard to effect a union with the Catholic forces on the ground of social reforms. But the great celebrations

* Bolton-King, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

organised in Rome for the jubilee of the taking of Rome (1895) put an end to hopes of a peaceful settlement. Leo XIII. felt obliged to reiterate once more his protests against the violence done to the Papal government. In 1897, Di Rudini, who had been called to office upon the fall of Crispi, issued a circular against the Catholic associations, in which he compared them to the anarchists and conspirators against the public peace. Such charges were ably refuted by the president of the Catholic organisations; but in the bread riots of 1898 the government found an excuse for the dissolution of the Catholic societies, and for the punishment of several priests, who were accused of having encouraged the riots, especially in Milan.* The Cabinet of Rudini was, however, overthrown, and was succeeded by that of General Pelloux, who allowed the Catholic societies to be re-established. In 1890, King Humbert was assassinated, and in the general movement of horror at such a crime it was hoped that some arrangement might have been arrived at, but these hopes soon disappeared. The young king, Emmanuel III., declared himself the defender of the traditions of his house. Leo XIII. issued a protest against his succession to the throne in December, 1900, and in 1903, when the rumours became current that the president of the French Republic intended to visit the king of Italy at Rome, the Pope besought him not to do what the Emperor of Austria and the King of Portugal had already refused to do.

But if Leo XIII. failed to settle the conflict between the Papacy and Italy, his efforts were more successful with the other nations of Europe. In Germany the Kulturkampf was still raging, while Russia and Switzerland were also at war with the Church. On the day of his election Leo XIII. forwarded a letter to the German Emperor in which he expressed a hope that His Majesty would strive to procure a restoration of peace and repose of conscience for his Catholic subjects. The Emperor was personally anxious for peace, and Prince Bismarck,

* Bolton-King, pp. 89-100.

alarmed at the growth of Socialism, was not unwilling to negotiate at the Vatican for the support of the Centre party. But he hoped to induce the Pope to recognise the main principles of the May Laws, on condition that these laws were not enforced. Leo XIII. refused to do so, and the negotiations fell through for a time. But they were renewed with better success in 1882. The establishment of a German embassy at the Vatican, and the withdrawal of many of the anti-Catholic laws, the visit of the Prince Imperial to Rome in 1883, and the acceptance of the Pope's mediation in the dispute with Spain regarding the Caroline Islands (1885), tended to secure better relations between Germany and the Holy See. In 1888, the present Emperor, William II., ascended the throne, and since his accession he has endeavoured to meet the wishes of his Catholic subjects. He visited the Pope in 1888, 1893, and in 1903. Owing to the conflicts between France and the Holy See the constant aim of Germany in latter years has been to secure a share in the Protectorate that had been entrusted to France, over the Christians in the East, but Leo XIII. steadily refused to take any steps injurious to French interests. In 1902, a convention was agreed upon between the Emperor and Pope, by which a theological faculty was established at the University of Strassburg.

The disputes with Switzerland were also settled. The letter addressed by the Pope on the day of his election to the president of the Swiss Confederation was badly received, and the war against the Church was carried on with renewed vigour. But in 1882 the results of the plebiscite on the education question, and the example of Germany induced the Swiss authorities to initiate a more conciliatory policy. In 1883, an arrangement was made by which Mgr. Mermillod was allowed to return from exile, and in 1884, Mgr. Ferrata, the Papal nuncio at Paris, was despatched to negotiate with the Federal Council. Finally, a convention was accepted by both parties in 1888, by which all the outstanding disputes between the Vatican and Switzerland were settled.

For many years Russia had carried on a terrible campaign against the Catholic religion in Poland and in the other provinces of the Empire. Pius IX. had protested again and again, but in vain, until finally in 1877 the Russian representative at the Vatican was guilty of extreme rudeness towards the Holy See, and was dismissed. Leo XIII. notified the Czar, Alexander II., of his elevation to the Papal throne, and congratulated him on his frequent escapes from the hands of the assassins in 1879 and 1880. Negotiations were opened through the Papal nuncio at Vienna for a settlement of the persecution of the Catholics in Poland and of the Uniates, but before the agreement was concluded Alexander II. was murdered (1880). His successor, Alexander III., was not badly disposed towards the Catholics, and in 1883, a convention was signed regulating the appointment to bishoprics and the erection of a seminary. But the terms of the compact were not observed by Russia. The old persecution still continued. In 1888, steps were taken to bring about another agreement, and a Russian diplomatist was despatched to the Vatican. The rapid advances made by Austria in the Balkan Provinces, and the conclusion of the alliance with France tended to secure more merciful treatment for the Catholic subjects of Russia.

With the Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria the Pope maintained friendly relations, and both powers co-operated in spreading Catholicity and Austrian influence in the Balkans after the treaty of Berlin. By his own personal intervention Leo XIII. secured the abdication by the king of Portugal of certain privileges which endangered the spread of Catholicity in India; while Spain was saved from a bloody struggle between the representatives of the reigning dynasty and their Carlist rivals mainly by the interference of Leo XIII. Ireland, America, England, and Scotland merited on different occasions the close attention of the Pope. But it was for France that Leo XIII. showed the greatest affection. Remembering how France had been for ages the pro-

tector of the Holy See, he spared no pains to avert the rupture which the enemies of the Church so eagerly desired. He believed that the failure of the Catholics in France was due to their want of union and loyal acceptance of the Third Republic. Hence, he was never tired of urging upon French Catholics, lay and clerical, the necessity of rallying their forces, and defending the liberties guaranteed to them by the Republican constitution. But though the policy was the only prudent one in the circumstances it was doomed to failure on account of the fixedly hostile attitude of the Republican authorities, and the half-hearted obedience or sullen rebellion of many of the Catholics.

Leo XIII. aimed, however, at doing more than merely establishing good relations with the governments of the world. He aimed at preparing the way for a return to the Christian principles of family and social life, by laying bare the sources from which the evils that affect modern society really spring. Hence it is that he devoted so much attention to the great Encyclicals, which in themselves forced men of all classes to turn their attention towards the centre of Catholicity. In the first Encyclical of his pontificate (*Inscrutabili*, 1878) he laid stress upon the benefits which the Catholic Religion has conferred, and can confer, upon civil society, and upon the falsehood of the charges made against the Papacy as being the enemy of progress and of secular governments. In the *Arcanum* (4th Feb., 1880) the great principles of Christian Marriage are carefully explained, while in the next year the *Diuturnum* (29th June, 1881) was devoted to an exposition of the modern contempt for all civil authority. Such a spirit of rebellion sprang, according to the Pope, from the irreligion of the age, and could be repressed only by a return to the Christian theories of government. Coming so closely upon the assassination of the Czar, Alexander II., and the widespread character of the Anarchist and Nihilist movements, the Encyclical of the Pope aroused universal attention. The *Immortale Dei* (19th Nov., 1885) was devoted to an exposition

of the relations between Church and State, and to a comparison between the foundations of modern governments and the doctrines of the Christian religion. The Encyclical, *Libertas* (20th June, 1888), gave a luminous explanation of personal, civil and religious liberty.

In his study of modern society Leo XIII. could not fail to notice a specially disquieting feature of modern society, namely, the organised and bitter conflict that was being waged between Capital and Labour. Towards such a struggle the Catholic Church could not afford to adopt an attitude of mere neutrality. Many of the theories put forward by the Socialist parties could not be accepted, nor could the action of some of their bodies merit approval; but, on the other hand, the working classes had undoubtedly grievances, for the redress of which they were justified in agitating. Hence, in the first Encyclical which Leo XIII. issued on social politics he condemned the doctrines and policy of the Socialists, Communists, and Nihilists (28th Dec., 1878). Such an Encyclical was specially appropriate at a time when the lives of the rulers of Europe were in deadly danger, as was shown by the attempts to assassinate the Emperor of Germany and the Kings of Spain and Italy. But though the Pope strongly reprobated Socialism and Communism he was no unfeeling spectator of the wrongs of the labouring classes, nor was he opposed to labour organisations. The Catholics in Germany, Austria, Belgium and France had put forward a social programme in opposition to the Socialist demands. Leo XIII., who already, as bishop of Perugia, had given serious attention to the labour question, was obliged as Pope to make a profound study of the same problem as it affected the different nations of the world. The agrarian troubles in Ireland (1880-1883), the action of Cardinal Manning in England, the cause of the Knights of Labour in America (1887), the pilgrimages of French working men brought to Rome by MM. Léon Harmel and the Count de Mun (1889), kept the problem well before the Pope and his consultors. The attempts made

by M. Decurtins, with the approval of Leo XIII., to bring about an international agreement for the protection of labour, and the favour with which the Pope regarded the attempts made by the Emperor William II. to give this proposal effect in the Conference at Halle in 1890, showed that Rome was fully alive to the possibilities of the Christian Democracy movement. Finally, in 1891, after having heard the views of competent men not alone in Italy but also in France and Germany, Leo XIII. published the *Rerum Novarum* (1891), which was henceforth to form the programme for Catholic social action throughout the world. This was followed by special letters to the Catholic Democratic parties in Italy, Germany, Austria, France and Spain, in which, while warning them against the dangers of Socialism, he congratulated them on the success which their organisations had attained. Three years before his death the publication of *Graves de communi* (18th Jan., 1901), which may be regarded as the complement of the *Rerum Novarum*, brought home to the world that Leo XIII. did not despair of concluding a peace between Capital and Labour on the lines laid down by the principles of Christian morality.

Against the slave trade in Africa Leo XIII. raised a vehement protest. The unfortunate natives of Central Africa were at the mercy of gangs of Arab merchants, who descended upon the unprotected villages, and carried off all who were likely to bring a fair price in the slave markets. The conference at Berlin in 1888 had condemned such a practice, but national jealousies deprived the decrees of the conference of much of their practical value. Cardinal Lavigerie, Archbishop of Carthage, and the White Fathers organised by him, carried on a crusade for the conversion and the protection of the natives. The Pope commissioned him to preach throughout Europe against the abominable practices of capturing and enslaving the natives of Central Africa, and in pursuance of the Pope's commands the cardinal preached and lectured in nearly every country in Europe. As a result of his efforts anti-slavery committees were organ-

ised in the different countries, and large sums of money were collected to help the movement. Belgium, which was most closely affected by the slave raids, responded generously to the wishes of the Pope. Strong military expeditions were organised against the Arabs, and, mainly by the help of Leopold II. and the Belgian anti-slavery Committees, the trade in African slaves was suppressed. The union of all the Christian bodies was dear to the heart of Leo XIII. In order to win over the Russian Church he spared no pains to keep up good relations with the Czar of Russia. In 1880, on the occasion of the Centenary of SS. Cyrillus and Methodius, he addressed the Encyclical, *Grande Munus* (30th Sept.), to the Slavs, recounting the efforts which the Holy See had always made on their behalf, and urging them to imitate the glories of their patron saints. A great Slav pilgrimage visited Rome in 1881, and the hierarchy was re-established in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Vicariates apostolic were created for Bulgaria, and the erection of a seminary determined upon (1883). The schism which had been created in the Armenian Church during the Vatican Council was healed, and the two schismatical bishops came to Rome and made their submission (1879, 1880). In the same year the Sultan allowed the exiled Armenian bishop to return, and he was created cardinal by Leo XIII. in the consistory held in December, 1880. The next year an Armenian college was founded at Rome.

In 1893, the Eucharistic Congress was held at Jerusalem in order to bring about a better understanding between the Eastern and Western Christians, and in 1894, a conference of the representatives of the Christians of the Oriental rite was held at Rome. As a result of the conference Leo XIII. issued the Encyclical, *Orientalium dignitas ecclesiarum* (30th Nov., 1894), in which he laid down the relations between the Latin missionaries and the Eastern Christians. The Coptic hierarchy was established and a patriarchate created at Alexandria for the Copts of Egypt. The activity displayed by the Pope on

the question of the Eastern Churches was resented both by Russia and by the patriarch of Constantinople, but in spite of their opposition the missionaries belonging to the Jesuits, Dominicans, Assumptionists, and Augustinians laboured with considerable success in Bulgaria, Turkey, and Palestine. Besides his efforts for the Christians of the East, Leo XIII. often turned his attention to the conversion of England, and was anxious to encourage every movement which had for its object the return of the English people to the unity of the Christian faith. In his remarkable Encyclical, *Ad Anglos* (15th April, 1895), he deplored the effects of the separation begun in the sixteenth century, and entreated the members of the English Church to labour and pray for the re-union of Western Christianity.

Strenuous efforts were made during the pontificate of Leo XIII. to develop the work of the Christian missions. By his letters the Pope recommended the Propagation of the Faith, the Society of the Holy Infancy, and similar institutions to the charity of the Catholic world; while he encouraged the missionaries of the different religious congregations to continue, and, if possible, to increase their efforts in spreading the faith amongst the heathens. By his friendly action he secured protection for the Catholic missionaries from the Emperor of Japan, the Empress of China, and the King of Persia, while he succeeded also in inducing the King of Portugal to forego the ecclesiastical privileges claimed by Portugal in India to the great detriment of the spread of the Catholic Church in that country.

Leo XIII. did not, however, neglect the internal developments in the Church. He was anxious to show by practical work that the charges made against the Church as being the enemy of learning and science were groundless; and, hence, during his pontificate, he made earnest efforts to raise the standard of ecclesiastical studies, and to direct them into proper channels. Hardly had he been elected Pope than he determined to grapple with the problem of a Christian system of philosophy. The

progress of Neo-Kantism, Positivism, and the other systems so dangerous to the foundations of the Christian Revelation, did not escape the attention of Catholic scholars, but in their efforts to construct a system that would harmonise the conclusions of science with the teachings of Revelation, many of them had come into conflict with the Church. Hence, Leo XIII. determined to recommend the system which had been built up by the great medieval masters, and which, allowing for the changes necessitated by the progress in physical sciences since that time, seemed best suited to reconcile faith and reason. In his Encyclical, *Aeterni Patris* (4th Aug., 1879), he warmly recommended the study of the philosophy of St. Thomas to Catholic students. In doing this the Pope did not wish that Catholics should regard St. Thomas as an infallible guide, or that they should not be allowed to depart from his teaching on matters, where it had been proved to have been incorrect; but only that, taking the leading principles of the system laid down by St. Thomas, they should test, modify and develop these principles in the light of modern physical science. An academy of St. Thomas was inaugurated at Rome in 1880, and a commission appointed to prepare a careful edition of his works. In a letter to Cardinal Dechamps of Mechlin the Pope advised the establishment of a chair of Thomistic Philosophy in Louvain University (1880). The Belgian bishops readily complied with the wishes of the Pope; and Mgr. Mercier, at that time professor in Mechlin seminary, was called to fill the new chair. Eight years afterwards (July, 1888) the Pope recommended the foundation of a special Institute of Thomistic Philosophy at the same university, and in order to meet the financial difficulties Leo XIII. came to the rescue with a sum of £6,400. Since that time the Louvain Philosophical Institute has been the leading centre of the Neo-Scholastic movement. Scholars have gone there from all parts of the world, and the Neo-Scholastic system has been introduced into most of the Catholic colleges and universities.

Nor was the quick eye of the Pope slow to detect that in another direction Catholic scholars required encouragement. The rapid development of historical studies in the nineteenth century, and the application of history to theology, opened up a new field full of great possibilities. From his position as custodian of the treasures of the Vatican library and archives, the Pope could do much to impede or further historical research; while, as Head of the Church, his advice in regard to ecclesiastical studies was sure to meet with a generous compliance. Gregory XVI. had appointed as Keeper of the Vatican archives Father A. Theiner who, during the reign of Pius IX., published many valuable collections of Pontifical documents. On the retirement of Theiner in 1870 Cardinal Pitra took charge of the Vatican archives, and succeeded in inducing Pius IX. to permit a few French scholars to make researches in the archives. In 1879, Leo XIII. appointed Cardinal Hergenröther archivist, and threw open the archives to scholars from all parts of the world. In his letter addressed to the Cardinals, Pitra, Hergenröther and Luca, in 1883, the Pope warmly recommended the study of history, and pointed out how much evil had been done to the Catholic Church by the mis-statements, exaggerations and omissions of unfriendly historians since the days of the Magdeburg Centuriators. He commanded these cardinals to organise the book department of the Vatican library, so as to make it a thoroughly equipped research library for those engaged in work at the archives or the manuscripts of the Vatican.

The liberality of the Pope in opening the treasures of the Vatican to students of history was thoroughly appreciated by scholars of all shades of opinion, and most of the countries in Europe hastened to take advantage of the concession by sending representatives to undertake researches in Rome. The French School was established in 1873, and is presided over at present by the learned Mgr. Duchesne. It has done much good work, especially in publishing the *Regesta* of the Popes

of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The Austrian Historical Institute was established in 1880, and has as its head at present Professor Pastor, the learned historian of the Popes. The Prussian Institute was founded in 1888, and that of Belgium in 1902. Besides these, the *Görresgesellschaft* of Germany, the *Leogessellschaft* of Austria, Bavaria, Baden, Saxony, Switzerland, Norway, Sweden, Holland, Spain, Russia, Poland and Hungary and England, are represented at the Vatican archives.

The spread of rationalism and materialism, and the application of these false systems of philosophy to the study of history, opened the way for a general attack upon the authority of the Sacred Scriptures. The books of Scripture were treated as any other literary or historical documents, and subjected to the same species of criticism. Their accuracy and authority were impugned, and their inspiration either denied entirely or restricted. In the midst of such confusion even Catholic scholars were at times puzzled as to the attitude they should adopt. To remove such uncertainty Leo XIII. published the Encyclical, *Providentissimus Deus* (18th Nov., 1893), in which the authority of the Sacred Scriptures, the advantages to be derived from a close study of them, and the principles of interpretation to serve as a guide for Catholic scholars, are clearly explained. By the brief, *Vigilantia* (30th Oct., 1902), Leo XIII. established a Biblical Commission, composed of Scriptural scholars drawn from all parts of the world; and for the encouragement of biblical studies the present Pope, Pius X., has conferred upon this body the power of giving degrees in Sacred Scripture (23rd Feb., 1904).

Like his predecessor, Leo XIII. was anxious to encourage devotion to the Blessed Virgin, more especially by the recitation of the Rosary. In 1883, he ordered the daily recitation of the Rosary during the month of October, and by the Encyclical, *Inter Plurimos* (1885), the October devotions were firmly established. Three other Encyclicals inculcating the recitation of the

Rosary appeared in 1891, 1892, and 1893. In 1889, he published an Encyclical on devotion to St. Joseph, the Patron of the Universal Church, and in 1893, he established a special feast in honour of the Holy Family. In 1889, the Feast of the Sacred Heart was raised to the dignity of a double of the first class. St. Thomas was declared Patron of all Catholic educational institutions, St. Vincent, Patron of charities, and St. Camillus of Lisle, Patron of hospitals.

The policy of Leo XIII. was one of conciliation, and in a great measure his policy succeeded. It was only with France, for which the Pope had always showed a special tenderness, that his policy could be said to have failed. In spite of the advances of the Pope, the Republic separated itself inch by inch from the traditional policy of France, and the rumours of the approaching visit of the president of France to the king of Italy were already current when the medical bulletins announced that Leo XIII. was ill. Little hope of his recovery was entertained, but he lingered on till the 20th July, 1903, when he quietly breathed his last. Leo XIII. had succeeded to the Papacy at a particularly critical period in its history. He had great difficulties to contend with, but, at the same time, he had great opportunities; and it must be admitted that he utilised these opportunities to the fullest extent.

On the 31st July, 1903, the cardinals assembled at the Vatican for the election of a successor, and on the 4th August Cardinal Sarto, having received the required number of votes, was proclaimed Pope under the title of Pius X. The new Pope was born in 1835, was educated at Padua, and was ordained priest in 1858. After many years spent as curate and parish priest he was appointed bishop of Mantua in 1884, and in 1893 cardinal and patriarch of Venice.

Pius X. set himself from the beginning to develop the inner life and organisation of the Church in accordance with his motto, "to renew all things in Christ." With France, however, he was involved in serious diffi-

culties, which finally culminated in the withdrawal of the French embassy from Rome, and the separation of Church and State. In Italy he endeavoured to unite the different sections of Catholics; and without withdrawing entirely the prohibition against taking part in Parliamentary elections he has allowed the prohibition to lapse in places where the Catholic vote was required to keep out a particularly dangerous enemy of Catholic interests. In the arrangements and organisation of the Roman Congregations he has introduced several important changes, notably that by which the duties of the Propaganda are restricted entirely to missionary countries (1908); and in the reform of the canon law he has undertaken many of the reforms suggested by the bishops at the Vatican Council. The most important result of the codification of canon law that is being pushed forward rapidly at Rome is the decree on the Marriage laws (1907). The attention of the Pope, too, was directed to the spread of dangerous views subversive of the dogmas of the Christian religion. In order to put an end to misunderstandings, and to explain clearly the position of the Catholic Church, he published the Syllabus of Errors (*Lamentabili*, 4th July, 1907), in imitation of the Syllabus of Pius IX., and a few months later the solemn condemnation of Modernism in the Encyclical, *Pascendi dominici gregis*. Special attention, too, has been devoted to the difficult problems that have arisen in connection with biblical studies, and the Pope has spared no efforts to create a Catholic school devoted specially to biblical researches in Rome (1909).

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